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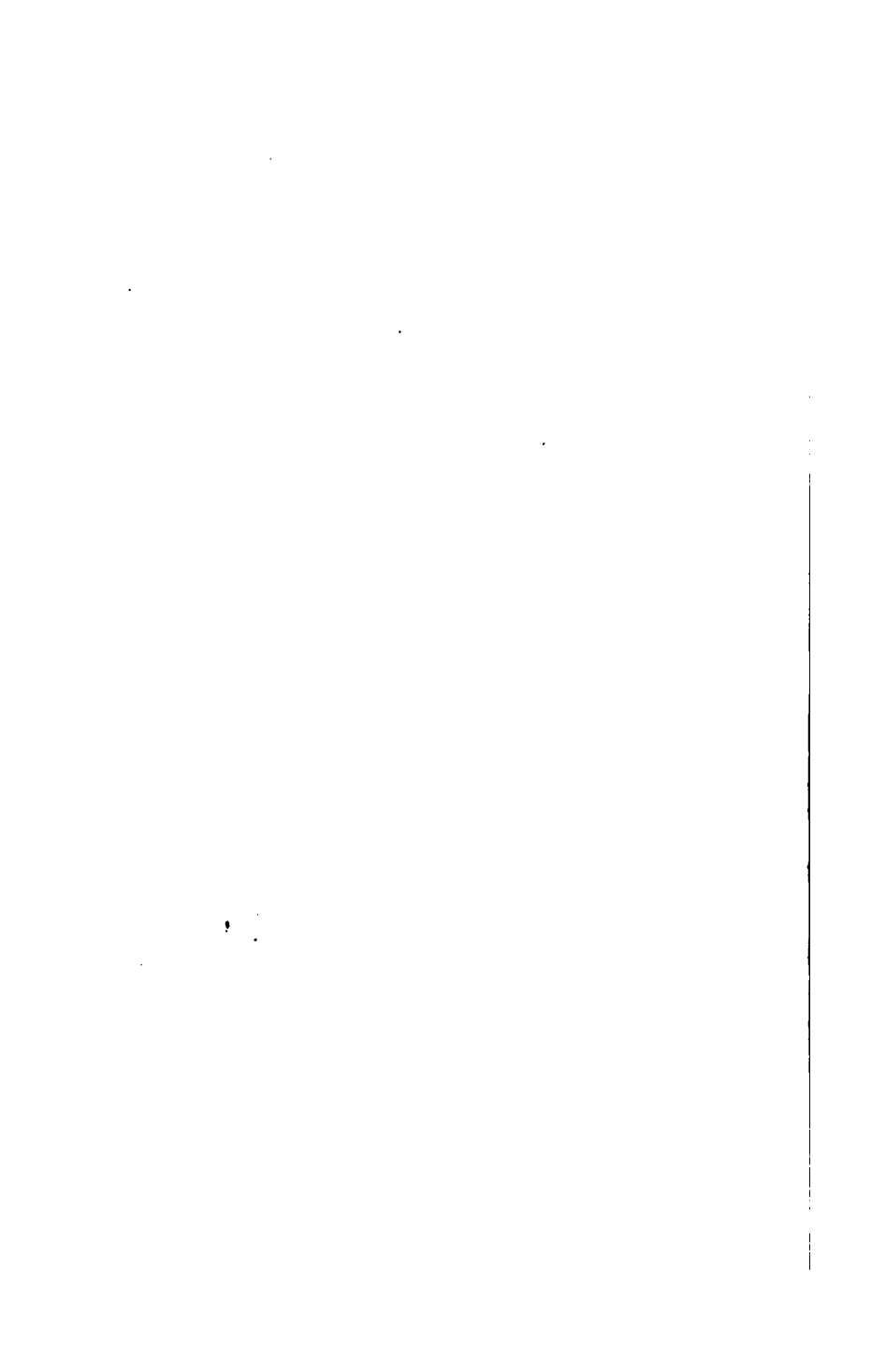
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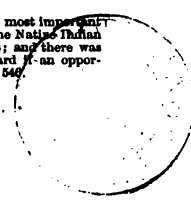
LETTERS OF A REPRESENTATIVE

TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

From 15 June 1857, to the end of the Session in Aug. 1858.

By Major-General Thompson, M.P. for Bradford.

—he rose to note that in the debate no notice had been taken of what was the most important part of the question, the breach of military faith and honour with the soldiers of the Native Indian army. The debate had been the play of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet left out; and there was an *audi alteram partem* which ought to be, and would have been, brought forward if an opportunity had been given.—*House of Commons*, 27 July 1857. *Hansard's Debates*, p. 546.



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ON THE ADMISSION OF JEWS TO PARLIAMENT.

LETTER I.

To the Editor of the Bradford Advertiser.

SIR,—As there was a proposal some time since for sending you from week to week observations on the proceedings in parliament, there can hardly be a better occasion for beginning, than the important division of last night on the admission of Jews to the House of Commons.

As the arguments on both sides have been long before the public, it would be useless to do more than mark the peculiar features of the debate.

The grand argument of the opposition to the Jews, was the statement, that though there are many in the country who are not Christians, we are a Christian country because we admit none of them to parliament; and that we are bound to continue this course, because otherwise we should cease to be a country which admitted none but Christians to parliament.

This is the sum and substance of the argument. It is the same that is and has always been advanced, wherever the minor persecution was to be inflicted, which instead of burning a theological adversary, only deprives him of something which others have. Spain or Portugal says, we are a Catholic country, by the token that we keep Protestants out of office. The Grand Turk or his councillors, if applied to for the admission of Christians into the council, would probably reply, "We are a Mohammedan country, because we keep Christians out of council; and we cannot let them in, because then we should cease to be a country that kept them out." What comment would our friends on the opposite benches make on this, but "*What a Turk he is!*"

Another point on which, if it had been a meeting in your Temperance Hall, they would have been sorely taken to pieces, was their rampant assertion that the country was in a state of commotion and terror from end to end, waiting for

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the decision of the question. Who has seen any of this ;— have *you* ? If it is so, what an argument for the extension of the suffrage ! Here is a nation sorrowing over the admission of a Jew to parliament, and so imperfect is its representative system, that something like seven to four of the representatives vote in the teeth of their constituencies.

Another grand piece of imbecility was the plea, that though it may be proper that a Jew should vote for a member of parliament because he is only one in a crowd, it is impossible that he should be allowed to be a member himself, because then he would have a voice in the legislation. As a legislator, would he be anything but one in a crowd ? What is the Jew to do as a legislator, that he cannot do as a voter ? Is he to proceed by force to circumcise the House of Commons ?

Besides, may it not be very fitting, and desirable for all friends of rational freedom, that there should be somebody in the House of Commons to represent the interests of the weakest religious bodies in proportion to what their actual influence may be ? Would Protestants in a country where Roman Catholics were predominant, fail to discover this ? Would Christians in Turkey ?

Finally, they do it all, because they are Christians. Sledge-hammers cannot drive into them, that we oppose them because we are Christians. First the Protestants, then Dissenters, and then Catholics, have been roasted or scorched in various minor degrees, by this burning Christianity. The world has been acquainted with it, long enough to set its mark upon it in all forms and degrees.

The numbers on division were, for the introduction of the words to exclude the Jews, 201. Against it, 341.

In the course of the debate, a significant fact occurred, in the open-hearted declaration of a Conservative baronet of considerable standing in the House, that his views upon the question had with time undergone a change. If I did not mistake, he was saluted by his old party with the term "apostate." What would become of us all, if we were under the feet of these men who would monopolize heaven and the House of Commons, and splash about judgments and prophecies, as if themselves were the only conduit through which the Creator communicated with his creatures ?

Yours sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, 16 June, 1857.



EQUALIZATION OF POOR'S RATE.—DESTRUCTION OF GREY-TOWN.—COOL INTIMATION FROM HONG KONG.

II.

ON Tuesday 16 June, the principal debate was on a subject which contains the elements of rising, and can hardly fail at some time to find its way into your districts, if it is not there already.

The motion was for a Committee to consider the state of the Metropolitan parishes in respect of the great inequality of the Poor's Rate.

The Metropolitan parishes offer the most palpable example of the evil; and therefore are well selected for trying the question.

The rough statement is, that by the nature of things the wealthy in London congregate into one parish, and the poor into another. Consequently, as things stand, the poor have to keep their poor, and the rich have none to keep. And the question is, whether this is what the art of man could mend.

The government opposed upon very lame grounds. Its principal fallacy, was the same which will be put forward with a triumphant air on the question of Church Rates, and which therefore it is useful to handle in a pre-existent state.

The Poor's Rate, like the Church Rate, we are told does not fall upon the occupant, but upon somebody else. And when we ask for that somebody else, we are told it is the landlord. And when we ask whether the landlord is nobody, we are told he is not hurt, because he bought his property at a reduced price in consequence of the rate.

Now this is true of such landlords as have bought their property at a reduced rate; *not true*, of such as have not. And as there must always have been somebody that made the property and did not buy it, there must be somebody on whom the rates fall, if we will only look in the right place.

Put the case of Church Rates, as being more interesting to some. The owner of *Saltaire** we will suppose is a Dissenter, and complains that he is made to pay for repairs of a Church which is not his own. "O," replies the counsel for the Church, "you pay nothing, for you bought *Saltaire* at a price which was reduced by the exact value of the Church Rate." "No," returns the proprietor of *Saltaire*, "I never bought it at all; I *made it*." And here comes out the mystery. The reason is good as regards those who have bought the thing after the imposition of the rate; *not good*, as regards those who have not.

Fancy that the landlords of a particular county, as Yorkshire, were informed they were to be subjected to a new Land Tax. What comfort would it be to them to be told, that every purchaser would get the land at a reduced price? They would say this was the very thing they complained of;—that the value of the land was reduced, and they and their heirs lost the difference. The fallacy attempted on Poor's Rates and Church Rates is the same; the plan is to hide the man who loses, and put forward somebody who does not.

But passing over this, there was another weak point, which was well exposed by a member who spoke. Supposing it granted that the loss does not fall on the occupants of houses in the first instance, it is plain that it must make it less profitable to lay out money in building in the poor district, and this must be met by greater rents; so that the loss *does* fall, at least in part, upon the occupants.

The principal objection was, that to unite parishes would be destructive of economy. Like most objections, this may be true if the thing was carried to an unreasonable extent, not true if to a reasonable.

What evidence is there, that if Metropolitan parishes, for instance, were run two into one, there would be an end of economy in the double managers? Would it not be as much the interest of everybody to promote economy in the double domain, as in the single? Would there, again, be any necessary increase of economy by splitting the existing parishes into two; or any consequent gain from setting the half dozen exemplary men who now manage the parish concerns, to apply themselves three to one half and three to the other?

In all this, there may be difficulties, as there are in everything. But not difficulties to set up against the glaring evil, that as it is, the poor are to keep the poor, and the rich keep nobody.

The motion was supported by 81 against 123; not a bad division under the circumstances.

On Wednesday the day was occupied in Committee on the Industrial Schools; a subject which the rural magistrates appear to have taken into their hands, and must therefore be answerable for the results.

On Thursday nearly the whole sitting was occupied by debate on the sum to be voted for the map of Scotland. My impression was, that the government had begun on the scale of one inch to a mile, of six inches, and of twenty-five, and did not know which to go on with. It is difficult to see what claim there is for the expenditure of public money on these enor-

mous scales. It was stated that the scale of one inch to a mile would cost £300,000, and the scale of six inches would cost £800,000, and of course the scale of twenty-five inches would cost more still. What interest the tax-payers have, in every landlord seeing his pigeon-cote in a map, it is difficult to say. If he wants it, why should not he pay for it himself? To an enemy such maps are very valuable. In France in 1814, I remember having a roving commission from the general of cavalry, to be always in the advance with a party of dragoons, and by hook or by crook get possession of Cassini's map of the department.

On division the government was in a minority of ten, the votes for reducing the amount being 172 against 162.

On Friday the most interesting matter was a bye debate which arose on a motion by Lord Claud Hamilton, on the destruction of Greytown by the Americans. Greytown was Canton on a smaller scale; and our government trucks one against the other. Englishmen were bombarded in Greytown, and their houses and property destroyed; but the government has discovered, on looking into the secrets of international law, that there is no power of interference for Englishmen, when they are bombarded along with anybody else. To make it sinful to bombard an Englishman, he must be bombarded by himself; if there are people of any other country with him, he may be bombarded at discretion. The thing is what in the language of the turf is called a *sell*. Make no objection to what we are going to do in China, and we will ask no questions about bombarding Englishmen in Greytown. International law is to be a nonentity on both sides; and there will be none, unless your Foreign Affairs Committees can make some.

Lord John Russell took occasion to make a noble stand against the Chinese atrocity. When that ass that calls itself the British lion comes to its senses, Lord John Russell will be the man who will set things on their legs again, after all.

A curious case not entirely without connexion with what has preceded, was on the question a few nights ago, of the Sound Dues. The American government, which ostentatiously rejects everything established under the colour of international law, signified that it would not pay the duties levied by Denmark according to existing treaties with the European powers, on vessels passing through the Sound;—duties derived from the times when Denmark was the great maritime power, and settled by gradual and universal consent, on much the same principles as the Duke of Norfolk's estate. Whereupon the

more honest European governments, to avoid a collision with the filibuster power, buy up Denmark's claims, with an understanding that America's share is to be paid for in the smoke. In other words, they agree to pay America's share among them.

On Monday the 22nd the circumstance of most interest, was the acceptance by the government, of the amendments proposed in the Oaths Bill. There would be impropriety in a Jew's being Archbishop of Canterbury ; but I do not see why he should not be prime minister, if Christians thought him better than his neighbours. On the whole, however, it is probable the government did right.

On Tuesday much debate on Metropolitan parishes ; when a successful stand, for the time, was made against the principle of giving public money for local improvements. An interesting point in the parliamentary papers last issued, was the cool intimation of the author and inventor of the war in China, that he wanted £10,000 for fortifying himself in Hong Kong, and it was only necessary to put it in the bill against the Imperial Treasury of China. To say nothing of the selling of the bear's skin before the bear was killed, which any sensible diplomatist would have avoided, the proposal amounts to asking us to spend a million (it may be) more in war, and then we shall have a chance of getting our £10,000. Fancy a Russian agent, of his own head to have got up a war in the Humber with a view to selling alcoholic fluids, and proposing to his government to fortify Sunk Island and charge it to the English Treasury. These are the scrapes a government gets into, when it sets up the principle that every official, however weak or wicked, must have the privilege of making war as suits his interest, and be supported in his pranks.

Yours, &c.

25 June, 1857.



THIRD READING OF OATHS BILL.—INDIAN MUTINY.—BALLOT.

III.

ON Wednesday 24 June, interminable debates and divisions on the Judgments Execution Bill ; which is to render Judgments or Decrees obtained in certain Courts in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, effectual in any other part of the United Kingdom.

An attempt was made to defeat the Bill on Scientific and Literary Societies ; which was unsuccessful, by 100 votes against 76.

On Thursday was the third reading of the Oaths Bill. The mover of the opposition, as it appeared to me, rested his argument on the Queen's reigning "by the Grace of God ;" and the seconder impugned what he called modern liberalism, on the ground (if I heard him without mistake) that a magazine had been put into his hands, in which Christians were invited to beg of Christ to intercede for the devil. The Third Reading was carried by 291 against 168. The division on the previous occasion was 341 against 201. So that to-night the Ayes were in greater proportion to the Noes than before.

On Friday, debates in Committee on the Fraudulent Trustees Bill ; in which many of the lawyers seemed determined only to darken counsel. The main argument against the Bill was, that fraudulent trustees must not be punished, because men will not accept trusteeships if they may be punished for being fraudulent trustees. The answer to which may be held to be, that men will accept trusteeships as they do now ;—when they cannot help it. At the same time I doubt in my own mind, whether this Bill will catch many fraudulent trustees. Nine-tenths of the cases of trustees who make away with the property, as you well know without being lawyers, arise from men employing the property of their wards in their own business, and losing all by bankruptcy. Is this to be a fraudulent trusteeship ? The man will vow that he intended to pay his ward with five per cent. if he had not been unlucky. I doubt whether the Bill as proposed will touch, or is meant to touch, a case of this kind. And yet it is the case which most wants remedy. The way to which would seem to be, to let it be clearly declared that every trustee, except where he has authority from the testator, is to place all moneys coming into his hands, in the public funds or other specified modes, and that the failure to do so, success or no success, shall be a misdemeanour.

The lawyers all harp upon the fact, that money applied to a man's use in his business, is a simple debt. But *why* is it a simple debt ? The lawyers can never distinguish between law as it is, and as it ought to be.

On Monday the subject of the Indian mutiny was moved by Mr. D'Israeli, and the answer of the government given. Nothing on all sides of the House but "*Blood ! Blood !*" Shed blood enough, and look for reasons afterwards. In fact

it was the continuation of the brutal policy in China, by which our blood and treasure (for *our* blood and *our* treasure go to pay for it) are lavished to uphold the principle that no official shall be tried by the rule of policy or virtue for his actions, but all malpractices and misconducts shall be smothered by the exercise of brute force at our expense. On the present occasion, you are to be exhilarated with the view, that fourteen thousand men are on the way to solder with slaughter what must have been the misdoings of somebody, for such things do not come of themselves.

As knowing me to have some personal acquaintance with the subject, your readers will perhaps give me their attention. The English government in India dates from nearly as long ago as the cessation of civil turmoil in Scotland ; and, as there, people have grown up in quiet acknowledgment of a state of things which on the whole was better than they had before. The inhabitants of India in general, have a special turn for military service ; which in fact seems wonderfully suited to man's fallen nature everywhere. And inasmuch as the military service of the Anglo-Indian government is better and more securely rewarded than that of the native powers, there is an almost unlimited faculty of raising native troops by voluntary enlistment.

But there is one point which stands in the forefront of all engagements of this nature. The grand stipulation with the Indian soldier, which no more needs specifying than the English recruit needs specify that some disgraceful operation shall not be performed on him after the manner of cattle, is that he shall not be subjected to breaches of his religion or to ceremonial pollution. It may be all very foolish and beneath the consideration of Englishmen ; but it is in spirit the self-same thing as took the "three children" into the fiery furnace, or as the lauded martyrs of the Apocrypha and of the Theban Legion went to death to maintain. The things objected to, are to a great extent the same. But, says a statesman of the India House, "men's religion sits loosely on them everywhere. It is nonsense to say that men will go to death to avoid contact with hog's flesh when their betters wish it. There is something else, another motive." Did the men of old reason thus ? And have not the present men the knowledge and substantial certainty, that if they fall only under *suspicion*, they will be treated as outcasts ? Does not the sepoy, for instance, know, that if he be but suspected of hog's lard in an infinitesimal degree, the wife or wives of his bosom will not come near him ? The man must be both a traitor and a fool,

who would enter on a quarrel of this kind, for the pleasure of putting it down again.

And see how the thing is carried out. Eighty-five native soldiers, good and faithful men most likely, and ready at any time to expose their lives in the cause to which they have engaged themselves, declare they cannot and will not handle a cartridge which they have been told savours of the swine. The position is like that of Christian soldiers under the Roman Emperors, stating their perfect readiness to serve faithfully, only do not give them rations that have been offered to idols. Eighty-five such men refuse their rations. For which they are,—I copy words before me,—“severally sentenced to a term of imprisonment varying from five to ten years.” What would have been the consequence, but that the eighty-five would have been honoured as martyrs by their co-religionists, and at this moment Puseyite clergymen would have been observing their vigils ?

But there was one point in the debate which struck me with shame and horror, and I felt bound to reserve my judgment till I knew whether the evidence of other men's ears agreed with my own. The exponent of the government said with a tone of regret, that in consequence of the leaving of the mail, he could not state “that Delhi,” the ancient capital of Hindostan, “had been razed to the ground.” The *Times* has interpolated the words “the fort of.” All the other papers give the other report ; and two of them add “murmurs.” I did not hear the murmurs ; but it shows what was in the mind of the reporter. And I proffer my evidence, to the extent that I may be held in law to be capable of giving it, that the interpolation of the *Times* is contrary to the fact, and ought to be remembered to all time as a measure of the confidence to be bestowed in a like case.

Fancy that when the Romans held sway in England, there had been a military sedition, than which nothing could be more likely, and the resisting parties had retired on Augusta or Eboracum ; and a Roman Agricola, heathen though he be, standing up in the Senate, if Senate there was, and saying with an air of regret, that he could not state that the city in question had been “razed to the ground.” Would you not think upon “Nineveh, that great city !” A hundred and fifty-two thousand souls were in “the ancient capital of Hindostan” in 1853, and a British minister grieves over his inability to state that it has been razed to the ground for a quarrel about hog's lard.

The truth is, we are governed by little men, who abuse and

disgrace us ;—men below the average of the world's rulers, because the world's rulers have generally fallen in with a wiser world than our English, stupid adorers of blood and violence, and ever ready to sacrifice the great interests of the country for the gratifications familiar to mediocre minds. We have had enough and too much. In China their official has manufactured us a war under circumstances odious to honest men and revolting to gentlemen. And on the back of this, we have a howl for the massacre of our own soldiers in India, and are congratulated on having fourteen thousand men to send to do it. Is it not time that somebody should say, "*Descendas, carnifex !*"

Nothing is more common than to deny that the Indian soldiery have any reason for believing there is a disposition to break the compact under which they enlisted, to wit that they should be let alone in their religion. Hear what the Chairman of the Court of Directors says in the House of Commons on the 11th of June, 1857. "He had no doubt whatever in his own mind that Providence had been pleased to place the magnificent empire of India in our hands in order that in due time we might be the instruments of converting the inhabitants to Christianity. He believed that the combined effects of good government, good education, and the labours of those excellent men to whom reference had been made, would be the gradual abolition of Hindooism." (*Times*, 12 June, 1857). What is this but saying aloud, that government, education, and the labours alluded to, are all directed to the abolition of Hindooism ?

Imagine that some of the European kingdoms had fallen into the power of the Mohammedans, as they would have done if Charles Martel had failed at Tours, and that the Christian inhabitants were quaking under all kinds of apprehensions that they were in some way or other to end with being made Mohammedans. And imagine that at a time when these fears had embodied themselves in action, the Mufti of Muftis was heard standing up in his place in the Divan, and declaring that he had no doubt it was the design of Providence that the conquered countries should be converted to his faith. The question would not be whether this was a very proper creed for a good Mohammedan ; but whether it was prudent, wise, or humane to make such declarations, where peace might otherwise have been preserved. There is no secret about the meaning of such declarations ; they are the theory of "manifest destiny," which is American for robbery. Those who visit the Exhibition of the Royal

Academy, may see "manifest destiny" looking in at a stage-coach window. "Manifest destiny" ruled the roast on Hounslow Heath, till he was put down by the horse patrol.

It is very likely that nothing was intended by this but to say something conciliatory to a powerful interest. But there is not the less question of the policy, of putting it out to be translated, perhaps through the Russian, into the words of all nations and languages and tongues in the East, for the chance of making surety doubly sure in the minds of the Indian population.

On Tuesday 30 June, in the morning sitting, the Bill to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Bankruptcy and Insolvency in Ireland, of 408 clauses, was carried on in Committee with seven members present.

In the evening sitting, Mr. Berkeley moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the introduction of the Ballot. He and his seconder were heard with impatience. The replies of the opponents were of the smallest possible calibre, and should be fodder for the Ballot Societies to make mirth of, for the next twelvemonth. The advocates of the Ballot in general, were not allowed to be heard. The country should fall back upon the lesson it had in the case of the Corn Laws. The House of Commons is a court of register, not a place for argument. It is in the *comitia*, as the ancients would have expressed it, or assemblies of the people, that the arguments must be stated; and then the other will register. Of which more hereafter.

It is a curious coincidence, that the proportion of the Ayes to the Noes, 189 to 257, was the same to a unit, as in the division of 1856, which was 111 to 151. As those gifted with the Rule of Three can tell.

Yours, &c.

1 July, 1857.



OBJECTIONS OF THE ADVERSARY TO MR. BERKELEY'S MOTION
ON THE BALLOT.—PERSIAN WAR.

IV.

It will be enough to state a few of the prominent heads of the arguments against Mr. Berkeley's motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's war-horse was, that the Ballot in America was not secret voting; for the Americans contrived that it should not be secret.

I remember in 1814 travelling across France with a Russian, who teased the inn-keepers everywhere by exclaiming in very bad French, "We asked for coffee, and not for chicory."

So, we asked for secret voting, and not for the American ballot which it seems "is *not* it."

A constant and purposed puzzle was kept up, on what was denominated "compulsory secrecy." I see this so well exposed in the *Daily News* of 2 July, that it is scarcely practicable to add to it. When the aristocrats ballot in their clubs,—when votes are given at the India House and Royal Society by ballot,—is it compulsory secrecy or not? Everybody knows that the facts are these. The final voting is secret in form, but every man is at liberty to canvass and to talk about his vote, in short to do anything he likes except deliver his vote otherwise than secretly. And the consequence is, that every man who chooses, can vote quietly without questions asked by anybody. Which is just what the aristocrats want for themselves, and want to keep from other people.

On Wednesday 1 July, the Medical Bill introduced by Mr. Headlam was read a first time by a large majority.

I have a letter this day from an Association near Dewsbury, asking whether £19,150 have been voted for Chinese heads, and desiring to know whether they were the heads of men, women, or children,—also how many they were of each, and how much Her Majesty's ministers pay per head, and by what manner of death these were made to die. An extract from a newspaper transmitted at the same time, intimates a desire to know whether they were made to leap overboard, or were turned adrift in vessels without oars; surmises which will probably turn out to be exaggerated. But when a nation puts off civilization, and allows itself to be carried back to the habits of savage life, it is impossible to say how far things may have gone. And these are the men who say to Yeh, "I am holier than thou."

That this sum was voted and paid for Chinese heads, is true enough; and I remember making some stand against it, beginning with "I do not believe in pirates." But nobody supported, and in fact everybody seemed to believe it was very good fun. Professor Stowe (the husband of the celebrated authoress) hopes the Almighty will deal gently with

the doers of such things. As a weak brother, I am afraid I do not altogether go his length.

On Thursday an effort was made to control the expenditure on pictures of doubtful value. Honourable gentlemen spend a great deal of money on their own likings ; but it is better than that it should go for Chinamen's heads. The minister said he had just come from Manchester, where a hundred thousand pounds had been expended on pictures ; and therefore it was a shame the House of Commons should haggle for six thousand. I note one difference ;—that at Manchester men spent their own money, the House of Commons spends other people's.

On Friday a debate in Committee, on harbours ; and it was determined that Holyhead is the nearest point of the United Kingdom to America. It would be curious to know, who jobs ?

Monday the 6th was occupied in Committee with the Probates Bill. The liberty of going to London or the country at discretion, for all amounts, was carried twice ; the last time by a majority of two.

On Tuesday, engaged in Committee on the Burial Acts Amendment Bill. It is pity that at this time of day there should be mention in an Act of Parliament of such obsolete fishings for quarrel, as "consecrated and unconsecrated ground." Why is there no talk of consecrating bells ? However, there was no appearance of a desire to exasperate anything ; but rather the contrary. A proposal was made, for making graves single. The reason against it appeared to be, that burial-grounds would eat up the land, or so much of it that quantities would revert to every-day uses, and so exposures take place.

In the evening, debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion, for doing away with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. When there is so much mischief going on in other quarters, men saw no policy in attacking the well-behaved. And so the Previous Question was carried by more than two to one.

On Wednesday the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he must have £500,000 instead of £260,000 for the Persian war, and continue the taxes on tea and sugar for two years. So you will find Mrs. Hashem at the bottom of your tea-cups. But you cannot have both the pleasure of fighting, and of having sugar in your tea. At the same time the war in Persia can hardly be classed with the brutality at Canton or the folly in India. It arose out of a not unnatural jealousy of at some time Russian interference ; aided by the habit in

which agents are encouraged, of getting up all kinds of charges against foreigners. If it were asked what a British agent in foreign parts is paid for, it would not be far wrong to say, it was for doing what an Irishman is said to do, when he drags his great-coat through a fair in hope somebody will tread on it, and cries "Three o'clock and no fight!"

Yours, &c.

9 July, 1857.



**REGIUM DONUM.—COST OF THE MASSACRE OF CANTON, &c.
TO BE LEVIED ON THE WORKING CLASSES.—PROPERTY OF
MARRIED WOMEN.**

V.

ON Thursday 9 July, engaged in Committee on Fraudulent Trustees Bill; and on Friday on Probates Bill. On the last occasion, the House with some trouble was convinced that Wakefield is nearer the centre of the West Riding than York.

On Monday 13 July, there was a very respectable minority against the *Regium Donum*; the opposition to it being one of the forms taken by the unpopularity into which the Established Church has brought itself. What is to be done with a Church, which on one hand quarrels about burying Dissenters as may be done with Protestants at Toledo, and on the other hand displays its longings to get back to the Papacy?

The news from India, as given in the daily papers, was retailed by the prime minister to the House of Commons. The one grand principle of government in all directions, is that no allusion shall ever be made to the origin of evils. Fancy that one of your factories was on fire, and that the first demand of the owners was that nobody should ask, how the fire came, where it began, which of the partners lit the match, what chance there is of preventing him from firing the remainder, what is the reason the workpeople will not help, whether anything could be done now to diminish their causes of dissatisfaction, and whether the leading partner of all is not going about assuring them that they are to be infallibly circumcised, or in some way or other handled in the way they think most personally intolerable. And suppose that by way of further demonstrating their genius, the owners were setting a sixth or an eighth of their workpeople to massacre the rest, trusting to

their being the most able-bodied portion, or the best masters of their weapons. If Bradford by itself did so, would you not say Bradford had gone mad? Why should Bradford do it, in conjunction with other people?

Among the parliamentary papers last transmitted to your Foreign Affairs Committee, are notices of £500,000 to be raised for carrying one foolish man under a canopy into Canton, and the same for carrying another into Persia. And we are informed in what manner the money is to be raised. It is to be levied on the working classes; or at all events in the manner which takes the most out of the working classes, and the least out of the possessors of property. It may or may not have occurred to the working classes in your neighbourhood, that there are two modes of levying taxes, between which the favoured classes may be ridden on the snaffle, and the working classes on the curb. And these go under the denomination of direct and indirect taxation. Direct taxation is when a man is told to pay a certain sum, in proportion to his wealth or by some other law. Indirect taxation is when a tax is laid on the consumption of an article, and a man may consume it or not as he likes. Hence if a government was anxious to take the greatest possible quantity out of the working classes and the least out of the others, it would lay the whole upon indirect taxation, as in the actual instance the million for carrying foolish men under canopies is laid on your sugar and tea. For in the first place, the man of £5000 a year cannot eat fifty times as much sugar, nor drink fifty times as much tea, as the man of £100 a year. And in the next, there is a trick which some of our friends perhaps have not dreamed of, which is to levy two, three, four, and I believe up to eleven times as much upon the working classes, by simply laying the tax by weight and not by value. The instance in which it goes to eleven times, is, or used to be, tobacco. The tax on the poor man's shag and the dandy's cigar, is, or used to be, the same per pound. Consequently as the price of one is eleven times the other, the poor man who spends a shilling on tobacco pays eleven times as much in tax, as the dandy who spends the same. But the thing is not confined to tobacco; it extends to everything that is capable of it, and notably to tea. The washerwoman's tea pays, or used to pay, the same per pound as the duchess's; and the difference in price you may learn for asking. The invention, on the other hand, which goes to raise money from the wealthy in proportion to their wealth, is what goes by the names of Property Tax or Income Tax; for they are in principle the same, except so far as a shuffle is carried on between them to evade the abhorred thing, which

is payment. And here please to note, that levying any imaginable quantity of the public revenue by direct taxation or Income Tax, has not of itself the smallest tendency to remedy the injustice of what is levied in the other way. It only says, you shall be unjustly treated on one half of the taxation, and on the other we will play you fair. So if you believe enough has been said to put your readers upon thinking, we will leave the subject of the Income Tax to another opportunity, and in the mean time long life to the Foreign Affairs Committees, as being the rising-up of the good sense and morality of the industrious classes, against the iniquities of their neighbours.

In the midst of all that is going on, the government think it a time for pulling down their old offices and building new ones, to the great delight of members with architectural propensities; and a Bill is introduced, which though for the present it keeps estimates out of sight, it is intimated will be attended with an expenditure of five millions, to be levied like the rest, on the working classes if they can. With three wars to account for, and three more as soon as their agents can make them, had they not better settle their bills for gunpowder? It all looks like nothing but insanity; and must continue till the sane men show themselves. We have heard of a man losing three kingdoms for a mass. Here are men losing an Empire for hog's lard, and burying their recollections in lath and plaster.

On Tuesday a step was taken towards the abolition of Grand Juries, by their abolition in the metropolitan districts. Of which you and I shall feel the effects, if evil times should recur like those the old among us have witnessed. Instead of having the chance of the bill against us being thrown out by the Grand Jury, we are to be referred to a police-magistrate appointed during pleasure by the government. So it is, that men in fine weather throw away their storm-sails, and heave overboard their pump-machinery. Two lawyers—always thank Heaven for a good lawyer,—Bowyer for Dundalk, and Ayrton for Tower Hamlets,—made a stout defence. But the division was carried against them by 187 to 80.

During the debate on the Metropolitan Grand Juries, two members behind me were talking, and I heard, "We must support the government, or *there may be another Dissolution.*" Store this up, for future reference.

On Wednesday the Bill to amend the law in respect of the Property of Married Women, was carried to the Second Reading by a great majority. In Committee on the Bill to amend the law on the subject of the exemption of Scientific and

Literary Societies from Parochial Rates, by the interference of the government the word "education" was thrown out by a large majority. The word "Fine" was introduced before "Arts," by a majority of one. Parishes might pay for the superfine; though not for education. And finally the word "exclusively" was inserted after "Fine Arts" by a large majority; which defeated the purpose of the Bill, and it was consequently withdrawn.

Yours, &c.

15 July, 1857.



PERSIA, INDIA, AND CHINA.—OATHS BILL.—ATTEMPT TO BREAK
DOWN BRITISH LAW BY A QUIBBLE AT HONG KONG.

VI.

On Thursday 17 July, the most important debate which has yet taken place in this parliament, was on Mr. Roebuck's motion for censure on the government on account of the Persian war.

The government declared their right to go to war when they liked and how they liked, and bring in the bill afterwards. And, with the exception of a small minority, the House allowed this to pass, under a feeble show of stipulation that it was not to be done again till next time. And as this was accompanied by the vigorous rejection of the notion that anybody could object to pay the bill, there was on the whole laid down as pretty a precedent as under the circumstances could reasonably be desired.

A curious case which came out by the admissions of the government, and of which our friends like myself may have heard a rumour, though it was not a thing to be believed without confirmation, was, that better terms might have been obtained before the war and without the war, than were obtained afterwards. In addition to which, insolent and unstatesmanlike demands were made upon the Persian government, which happily for the honour of England it was found impossible to persist in; and after all, the probability is that the war might have been prevented, if, as was Lord John Russell's expression, "it had not been for the trumpery quarrel got up by our mission." A war therefore has been made for sport, and you are saddled with a million in payment, with no earthly object but to gratify the mission at Teheran in their "trumpery quarrel." Add to which more millions in China, incurred in support of what is now known, and was

always known, to be what is denominated a "trade lie;" a falsehood got up and backed by a massacre, for no object but forcing certain receipts into the pockets of opium-smugglers. Surely your condition is blessed; and you can only wait for time to mend it. Your rulers have no idea of doing anything but by blood and spending your money; and you must endure till the nation, which they say supports them, is gorged with the consequences.

The mover was violently attacked, on the supposition that he had intimated that India was in danger. You see how it is required of us, to lay down common sense at the door. Here is one half an army employed in massacring the other half, and it is to be a crime to say that such an army is in no state of safety.

The government defended themselves with bad logic and worse wit. Lord John Russell, though in some directions unaccountably feeble and below the occasion, shone by comparison, as one who in the main is on the right side may always do. We cannot make a man to suit ourselves at all points; but we can find out that one man would suit us a great deal better than another. On division forty were found who would not bow the knee. A fortunate consequence of the mover's determination to go to a division; and what may lead to more hereafter.

On Friday the debate on the transactions in Persia, India, and China, was renewed on occasion of the bills presented for those several follies and atrocities. Mr. Gladstone was out-spoken on the subject of China. He adverted with strong approbation to Lord John Russell's designation of the proceedings there as "flagitious acts;" and he ventilated the fact, notorious he said to all the British residents on the spot, that in the trumped-up story of the *lorcha*, there was no truth in there being any British flag at all. By such gross fabrications of felons in opium, are you robbed of your money, and the country of its honour. The truth is coming out by degrees, and gathering about the guilty. But is the precedent to be laid down for all eternity, that there is to be no punishment for the authors of such mischiefs?

The House was kept dividing till half-past four in the morning, on motions for adjournment, with two to one against them, with a view to hinder the introduction of a Bill by Lord John Russell, to amend the Act 1 & 2 Vic. c. 105 for removing doubts as to the validity of certain Oaths. The Act directs that every one whatsoever shall be sworn in the manner binding on his conscience; and the object is to extend

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this distinctly to oaths before the House of Commons. At the same time the mover intimated unmistakably, that he believed the House of Commons had full power to do it by itself as in the case of Mr. Pease, and that he only did the present for civility. His tone altogether was that of a man who intends to do something, and it is very likely something will be done.

On Monday 20 July, vigorous onslaughts were made on the government upon the China question ; conducted by Sir John Pakington so distinguished by his noble bearing on the Oaths Bill, and Lord Claud Hamilton well known in the debates of this and preceding parliaments. Public feeling is evidently gathering ; and will end by confirming the ancient adage, that "the mill-stones of the Gods grind slow, but grind small." Attempt was made to represent the whole as a personal attack upon the Admiral. Which was artistically put aside, by declaring the Admiral was not responsible. To use a military phrase, the assailants refused a wing, upon this question of the Admiral. An important circumstance pointed at, though in the obscurity which hangs over everything it is not practicable at once to know all about it, is that a demand for five thousand men was sent from China to India. Did this arrive in time to act upon the discontented there, and is there any improbability in its being represented to them as *twenty* thousand ? Such are the dangers which environ the bloody and the violent man.

On Tuesday the debate on the Oaths Bill was taken up again, being introduced by a speech of extraordinary gravity and power from Lord John Russell. The Bill was in the end ordered to be brought in, by a majority of 246 to 154.

On Wednesday 22 July the Tenant Right (Ireland) Bill was withdrawn ; with an understanding that it will be produced again next session.

I see the author of all the mischief in China, is endeavouring to inflict further dishonour on his country by bringing the unfortunate baker, whom even a Hong Kong jury has acquitted, a second time to trial under a quibble, for what is virtually the same offence ; and that the government has been wicked enough to give him discretionary orders, which, unless neutralized by a private hint, is like giving discretionary orders to a ferret in a rabbit-warren. The government establishes a rule cut and dried, by which any man it is desired judicially to murder, may in a future case be put to death. The recipe is, to charge him with an act affecting a number of persons ; as, for instance, with having been engaged in an

affray where a number of people were wounded. Try him for the wounding of A. B. and C. ; and if the jury acquit him, try him again for the wounding of D. E. and F. ; and so on till a jury is found to convict. Upon what meat does the man feed, who is thus to pull down our notions of public and municipal law one after another, and be on all points the standard-bearer to our shame ? If he executes his last design, I hope he will be hanged. And the question will come very opportunely before the country, when its attention has just been directed to the humanity of our law, by the issue of the celebrated case in Scotland. The Parliamentary documents on the subject are forwarded for your Foreign Affairs Committee.

Yours, &c.

24 June, 1857.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.—DEBATE ON INDIA.—MILITARY EDUCATION.

VII.

ON Thursday 23 July the debate on the Superannuation Act Amendment Bill was continued in the morning sitting, till the arrival of the fated moment, ten minutes before four, broke the thread of the orator between the nominative case and the verb. In the evening, long discussion on the decorations given to officers ; a subject which it might have been supposed a government was competent to manage without rebuke.

On Friday long debate on the Bill which is come from the Lords on the subject of Marriage and Divorce. The object of the opponents is to defeat it by delay. The grand point of contest is the permission to parties divorced for adultery, to marry again. A petition against it is announced from six thousand of the clergy ; and there has been sent to me, as I suppose to other members, a printed document with names approaching to five thousand. Those who take an intelligent interest in the Established Church, will be grieved to see so many names attached, to what, barring carelessness or ignorance, must be set down as designed misrepresentation. The clergy know as well as you and I, that the authority to which they refer as prohibiting marriage after divorce, makes a special exception in the case of adultery. And this they conceal and deny, for the sake, it must be supposed, of imposing upon us laity. And as this is not the only case where they attempt the same kind of thing, it is of the more importance that we should look into the details.

In the reports of Matthew (v. 32, and xix. 9), the rule recorded is that whoever shall put away his wife, *saving for the cause of unchastity*, commits adultery, and causes *her* to commit adultery,—that is to say on her marrying again, (which according to the customs of the country concerned, she would immediately do); and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, commits adultery. The reason for both these evidently being, that the original bond remains unbroken. But if the bond be broken, as it is declared to be upon unchastity, all the consequences fall along with it. Put the case to any person except a theologian. The French have a proverb, which it is not our fault if theologians labour to deserve.

But there are other reports on the same subject (Mark x. 11, 12; Luke xvi. 18,) in which the exception is altogether missed out. Are we then to copy the argument of the witness, who resisted the evidence of one man who *did* see him, by offering to find another who *did not*? For to this dilemma we are reduced. If all the reporters are to be maintained as honest and well-meaning, we must receive what one of them did hear, in preference to what the others failed to notice. It would be so in any of the concerns of common life. What pity that six thousand men of learning and respectability, should put their hands to an evident misrepresentation of the truth. Who, do they think, is to trust them another time?

All this is independent of any question whether a precept delivered in one age and country is necessarily of validity in every other age and country. It is independent of any question whether a precept directed to check the practice of divorce where men were divorcing their wives with as little ceremony as they would give a written discharge to a servant, is binding to the letter in a country where no such practices prevail. It is a simple question of veracious quotation; and the verdict of gentle and simple will be against the six thousand. It is dangerous to shuffle, when every labouring man has the book referred to in his hand. Like the tempter on the Mount, they miss out words. It is a priestly fraud; and the laity ought not to stand it. The answer in all these cases should be, "Search the Scriptures." As our fathers did, so will we.

On Monday 27 July was the promised debate on India. The object of all parties was to conceal the fact, that the present danger in India, though there might be other co-operating causes, was brought to a point by the non-observance, either through carelessness or design, of the stipulation implied in

the engagement of the Indian recruit, that he was not to be imperilled in his religious caste. Much false eloquence, and some ingenuity, were expended in mustering the various other ways in which the British rule might have been made unpopular. The annexation of native sovereignties, the permission to widows to marry, and the congregation of fifty Indian young ladies for education after the European model, were all paraded with minute particularity. But the moment the orators came to the quarrel with the Native army, there was always a dead halt. It was clearly intended that nobody should venture on that forbidden ground. It was as if in the case of a powder-magazine which had exploded, vivid description had been given of every instance in which a cigar had been smoked in one corner, or chesnuts roasted in another, but there had been a dead stop on coming to the history of the man who lighted a lucifer and threw it into a powder-barrel.

It is wonderful to how low a pitch eloquence has fallen in the House of Commons. Time was, that there were giants on the earth. But now, what passes for most lively, is rant, such as in these improved days would not be tolerated for a quarter of an hour by an assemblage of artisans keeping Saint Monday, unless it was for amusement. Out of such processes, comes the settlement of your affairs and everybody's.

Your correspondent rose seven times, and by waiting till everybody was tired, contrived to introduce an assertion that there was another side that had not been heard. Which was received with laughs by sapient legislators. What the House of Commons refused to hear, I commend to the study of the Foreign Affairs Committees.

The member for Huddersfield has engaged in a correspondence with me, on the subject of what I said in the House of Commons on China, connecting it with the Huddersfield and Bradford elections. As I conjectured from the beginning, his desire was to publish ; in aid of which desire, I recommend to friends to cast an eye over any newspaper in which it is likely to appear.

On Tuesday, debates on the General Board of Health Bill, and on Military Education, with no very marked results. The army appear to be afraid of the competitive system ; their principal argument being, that examining a man in mathematics will not determine whether he is "a good fellow." To which the answer seems to be, that if there are points on which examination is not available, this is no reason against applying it where it is of use. If we buy a horse in a fair, we

cannot be sure of his temper, or whether he may not have half-a-dozen maladies coming on, of which the signs are not apparent. But this does not hinder us from ascertaining that he has at all events strong limbs, and is, as far as examination can establish, "a good one to go."

A point also on which provision must at some time or other be made, is in opening the way for middle-class men who enlist as privates, to rise, on knowledge and good conduct. The good conduct must be theirs, but the way to knowledge must be found them. In the Artillery corps, for example, if Napoleon Bonaparte or Isaac Newton had happened to enlist, I apprehend there would be no possibility of their rising to the rank of officer. And why should not they; and why should not there be the means by which men with such natural gifts should have the opportunity of learning? Would they ram a gun the worse during their period of apprenticeship? All this will come at some time.

On Wednesday 29 July the second reading of the Oaths Validity Act Amendment Bill (which is to admit the Jews) was put off till Monday. Lord John Russell announced that in consequence of the re-election of Baron Rothschild by the City of London, there was a probability of the Bill being dispensed with. Which means that the House of Commons will be invited to omit the disputed form on its own authority, as it did in the case of Mr. Pease.

The newspapers inform us that the Chinese fleet has been destroyed in two severe engagements, in which the Chinese fought their guns with unexampled constancy. But we are not at war with China!

What a national disgrace, that our blood and money should be at the disposal of men like the present. But it is all the British lion. What is to be expected, when a people make beasts of themselves by acclamation!

Yours, &c.

29 July, 1857.

P.S.—July 30.—The correspondence alluded to, is published in this day's *Times*, with the exception of my last reply, which would have been of interest at Bradford.



DEBATES ON DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL.—
 MORE ON THE ATTEMPT TO BREAK DOWN ENGLISH LAW AT
 HONG KONG.

VIII.

ON Thursday 30 July, on a clause in a Scotch Police Bill, was the extraordinary appearance, of 58 votes on one side, and *none* on the other. The explanation of which to the unlearned will be, that on every division there are required to be a mover and seconder, who are made to be the counters or *tellers*; and in this case the two tellers were for throwing out the clause, and nobody else.

In the evening sitting, long debate on the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill, proposed for Second Reading. The speeches were nearly all on the side of the opponents of the Bill, and should be read by its friends as the strongest evidence on their side. The argument most insisted on, was by a member who avowed himself of the Romish Church, and declared that the words "*except for unchastity*," (in the original "*if not for unchastity*"), meant "*I will not say anything about unchastity*." I grieve to think how a Westminster or Eton boy would be whipt, who should dare to translate "if not" by "I will not say anything about it." But you see what we should come to, if we did not stand up for ourselves. It is a contest as in times of old, between the good sense and learning of the laity, and the clerical right of altering the meaning of words to suit a purpose.

Another argument was advanced, which at first sight looked stronger;—and this was, that a woman convicted of adultery, by the Jewish law was stoned, and therefore, as the song justly says, being "dead, could not be married." The answer to which is, that the English law having refused to follow the Jewish in putting the adulteress to death, all that is to be done with her afterwards is taken into the hands of the English law. "She must not be married, because the Jewish law said she must be put to death;" such is the argument. The Jewish law said a sabbath-breaker must be put to death. But as we do not live under that law, will anybody argue that a sabbath-breaker must not "be married."

The newspapers say "Mr. Murray has consented to make his entry into Teheran without a large military escort." In other words, an insolent demand has been made on Persia, and abandoned. I wonder how much we have paid for trying the chance. There is the other foolish man at Canton, for whom we shall probably pay eight or ten-millions before it is

done with ; and all for the chance of carrying him under a canopy into the presence of Yeh. This is the way our money goes.

On Friday the debate was resumed on the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill. If any man would have been delighted to witness the struggles of the Reformation, and hear great talent, learning, and eloquence, employed to change the plain meaning of words appealed to, into something to suit a foregone conclusion,—he might have enjoyed that pleasure in listening to the impassioned address of the member for the University of Oxford. He referred to three meanings of the word translated “fornication.” It was idolatry, it was apostasy, it was marriage with a foreigner ; it was something peculiar to Jewish law and not discoverable among Christians, it was anything but what is found in the text. If the book says a horse, they will say it means an ass, or a cow, or a pig, or anything but what is there. This is the way with theologians. There appears something hostile to the accurate perception of truth in the theological mind. If a reason might be hazarded, it would be, that starting with what logicians call a foregone conclusion, to wit that a certain thing is true, they think that everything uttered with a view of establishing it, must be true also. It is as if Newton, confident in the ultimate truth of his theory of Gravitation, had uttered all manner of untruths by the way. The plain meaning of the word is unchastity ; or if nicety must be gone into, it might be held to mean gross and habitual unchastity, or what would be more clearly expressed by prostitution. The application of it to the misconduct of unmarried persons, is secondary and accidental. And the reason of its being used here, was probably to avoid meeting the word adultery twice together.

The winding-up of the orator's efforts was in the assertion, that parliament is incompetent to meddle with religious matters. And if we ask who is competent, it will be found it is the member for the University of Oxford and his friends. We are at something closely resembling the struggle at the Reformation, and which is going on with more or less of violence in almost all the continental States, the struggle between civil government and an irresponsible priesthood. If the position of the member for the University is true, what right has parliament to pass a Toleration Act, and why is it not to be incontinently declared waste paper, and every man go to Oxford to ask what his religion is to be ?

A curious fact, if I made no mistake, came out in the debate. The House of Lords has a Standing Order, that no Bill for

declaring a marriage dissolved shall be introduced, without a clause forbidding the marriage of the guilty parties. So the House of Lords complies with the Standing Order, *and invariably throws out the clause*. If anybody says how shocking, that the House of Lords should go through such a form,—the answer is, that men must go to what they on the whole think right, *how they can and when they can*, and that they cannot always remodel and set everything in its proper place, like a girl arranging her tea-board.

Another fact which came out on agitation, is that the Bill contains no provision for putting any force upon the clergy to marry parties they do not like. If there is any such force, it will be in the old law and not the new. Is there then any reasonable probability, that parties of any kind wanting to be married, will select the clergyman who does not like to do it? The outcry on this point, looks like nothing but a feigned alarm.

At a quarter past one in the morning the House divided in favour of the Second Reading by 208 against 97.

On Monday 3 August, Lord John Russell carried without a division the appointment of a Select Committee to report on the Act 5 and 6 Will. IV. c. 62, by which all bodies authorized to administer any oath, solemn affirmation, or affidavit, are empowered to make statutes, bye-laws, or orders, directing the substitution of a declaration. The Committee is proposed to consist of twenty-five members named, with the addition of "all the gentlemen of the long robe who are members of the House of Commons." This is something like referring the decision to the lawyers in the House. And if the report is in favour of Lord John's views, there can be no doubt it will considerably strengthen his cause, whether by itself decisive for his object or not.

On Tuesday the members of Lord John Russell's Committee were appointed without a division, after a debate the only effect of which was to delay. All the old things were said over again, and nothing new. The part to be kept out of sight, was what the *Times* has since declared,—that the nine thousand clergy have put their hands to "a downright untruth." Those who might have said this, would not; and for those who would, there was no chance. Never believe the clergy in their collective capacity. A single clergyman may read his book as it is, but a collection will read it, like witches, backwards way. There are now three "downright untruths" to which they put their hands; viz. in what they represent as in their books, on Divorce, Sabbaths, and Marriage with a

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wife's sister. On all these, like the men who printed a bible with "Thou shalt commit adultery," they leave out a "not." As it was in our fathers' time, so in ours; and we shall have to come to the same remedy.

On Wednesday 5 August the Second Reading was carried, of a Bill "to facilitate Leases and Sales of Settled Estates;" which the vulgar seem to believe to be a Bill for the inclosure of Hampstead Heath, a proceeding which has been rejected in several successive parliaments.

And now I will go back to a subject a few days old, but not on that account less deserving the notice of the constituent body. Englishmen have lived in a dream, that by English law a man could not be tried twice over for the same offence. And the reason for it is clear; for otherwise the ruling power, when it wanted to destroy a man, would only have to try him over and over, till a jury is found to convict. A celebrated trial in Scotland has at this moment put the point with unusual prominence before the public; and the Scotch lawyers think their law is beforehand with the English in its clearness on this head. The time was ill chosen for trying to reverse English feeling on this subject; but what may not come to pass, when nations doff their human character, and take pride in being assimilated to non-reasoning animals? The governor of Hong Kong, in addition to a war of his own in China, has undertaken to upset this cherished idea of Englishmen; and the government here has been ill-advised enough to give him public leave, though it has very likely given him a private intimation to do nothing so foolish. A Chinese has been tried, for a crime which nobody above an idiot believes to have been committed by anybody; and though under circumstances of great local exasperation, has been acquitted. The insane governor or counsellors directing him, have determined to try the man again, till they can get a verdict; and here is the quibble. A man, it is allowed, cannot be tried twice for the same offence; but he shall be tried, they say, for different consequences of the same offence. The charge against the Chinaman is, that with a shovel value tenpence, he threw something unwholesome into his dough. They try him for giving the gripes to A., B., and C., for nothing else came of it by their own account; and when they fail there, they will try him for griping D., E., and F., and so on till they find a jury to convict.

Now see how this is to come back upon you in England. Troublous times come, and a government's powder-magazine blows up, with appearances of being by design. The govern-

ment accuses the Foreign Affairs Committee. They are tried for throwing a match into the magazine, whereby came to their deaths A., B., and C.; and are acquitted. But, says the government, we will try them again for causing the deaths of D., E., and F., and so on till we get a conviction. Are Englishmen prepared for this? If not, let them look to it in time, and see how this excitement under the name of the British lion and other trumpery devices, goes directly, as in other times and countries, to place their laws and liberties at the mercy of every petty pelting officer abroad, and government at home inclined to follow his lead. Who ever thought that British law was to be upset by a perverted Benthamite at Hong Kong? But what cannot the British lion do?

Yours, &c.

6 August, 1857.



NEW ZEALANDERS.—DISHONEST TREATMENT OF NATIVE RACES.—POST-OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS.

IX.

ON Thursday 6 August was a vote of money connected with New Zealand, which brought up some questions in relation to the aboriginal population of that country. I had hoped that it was settled, that for once an example was to be given of honourable and prudential dealing with a native population. But the tide of dishonesty everywhere runs strong; we have all our lives been pulling against it, and shall die at the oar.

The two principal ways in which the dishonesty is practised at the expense of the pockets of you and me, is first, in depriving the Natives of their lands under various pretences, and then in getting up profitable wars in consequence;—profitable, I mean, to the jobbers through whose hands the expenses pass, but which are ultimately paid for by you and me in the variegated forms of indirect taxation and Income Tax.

The suspicion on the present occasion is, that the Natives of New Zealand are to be tricked into selling their lands for threepence an acre, the express reason being, that in a few years more they would be worth three shillings. At the heels of this, of course, is to be the war. The reason of the New Zealanders having been in some respects better treated than other Aborigines, is that they are a very warlike, and so far dangerous race, whence if there is one set of our countrymen who would like to make money by going to war with them,

there is another who would like to let them alone. The relation between the New Zealanders and Europeans has points of resemblance to that between the rude ancestors of some of us Britons and the Romans. I am not sure whether the Britons ever roasted one another for private eating ; but there is no doubt they did it for the feasting of their gods, which is the next thing to it. And as the New Zealander has now a breed of hogs, which he had not before his acquaintance with Europeans, the existing generation are about as clear of the failings of their ancestors as *we* are.

When the Foreign Affairs Committees are free from more urgent topics, and have a government which knows good from evil, they must take up this question of the treatment of Aborigines. We are not rogues, nor come of rogues ; and therefore our studies may be useful to our country. What is plain is, that Britain must bestir herself to extend her power over the vacant portions of the world, or be clean thrust out of existence by the growth of other nations. She must do it in the shape of colonies first, and (as colonies drop off into independent countries like children marrying from their father's house), in the shape of affiliated and friendly States. But most of the countries in which she must have to operate, are partially occupied by Native races. What then is to be done with these ? Never ask which is most honest, honourable, or consonant with good feeling ; for as the world stands, these do not go for a pin's value. Ask simply which is cheapest,—that is to say, if you can prevent the people who make a per-centage out of expenditure, from holding the bag. Will you then have the assistance of the Native races in an honest way, as you have the assistance of the baker or the bricklayer ; or will you go to the expense of robbing and destroying them, which may be very considerable if the baker and bricklayer chance to be good men at their weapons. One way, as is done by the slave-holders in America, would be to declare that the baker and the bricklayer have no rights which you are bound to acknowledge ; which may be particularly promoted if the said baker and bricklayer have different complexions from yourself, burnt in upon them by heaven knows what suns, which you have been so lucky as to escape. But still the question remains,—the only practical question for the men of the present generation,—“ Is it cheapest ? ” Taking the whole consequences to *you* that are to pay, is not the cheapest and therefore best policy by far, to do justice, and walk uprightly before God and man ?

The New Zealanders, for instance, are at this day very

little more removed from the habits of Englishmen, than were the Scottish Highlanders at the time of the first union with Scotland. But what an enormous folly it would have been, to say we will exterminate the Scottish Highlanders, we will encourage no amalgamation with a Highlander, we will go to the expense and trouble of driving him out of the land, and taking all the blows of that claymore of his (the *gladius major* as a Scottish antiquary has just told me is its derivation) which may befall in the process.

The rogues will say, "We want to fill up the land with ourselves and posterity, and not with those who are there already;"—as the *Times* said, "How are the colonists at the Cape to get lands, unless they take them from the natives?" But this is only the theory of destroying the baker and the bricklayer. It will never answer in the end; as those who try will find.

Englishmen are happily to a great extent free from the abominable feeling the descendants of our negro-drivers call the "antipathy of races." An Englishman claims the right of amalgamating with anybody he sees, provided, as is Highgate law, "he likes it better." No colonel of cavalry asks whether his horses are black, white, or grey, provided they are good and well trained. If England is to occupy strange and torrid lands, it must be by raising up dark Englishmen, whom heaven has made with the physical faculties to do it. In all these cases of Aborigines, the question their friends should ask is, "Are they allowed to *Anglicise* if they like, as the Scottish Highlanders were?" If they *are not*, then perpetual war while they endure. If they *are*, then they will be bulwarks in the places that want them, like the Scottish Highlanders in a battle day. No question must be asked as to what colour an African or an Indian sun has burnt on their progenitors; but simply, Were they born under the British Crown?

On Friday, in Committee on the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill. A change appears to have come over the opponents of the Bill. At first they were all joy that the facilities for divorce were confined to the rich; and now they are all zeal that these should be extended with as much of equality as possible to the poor. The inferences from this may be, that the latter is what they have in their hearts, and that they think the Bill will pass. Nothing more is heard for the present, of what the *Times* called the "downright untruth;" but it will probably be produced as good as new on the Third Reading.

A deputation went this day to the General Post-Office to ask for improvement in the transmission of letters from the manufacturing districts to the Continent. The facts are curious ; and as Bradford is interested, you will perhaps like to hear them. Letters of the description stated, are nine hours from the North to London, and are detained sixteen hours in London before they start again. But this is not all. The mid-day trains from the North reach the London terminus at *six*, P.M., and the boxes for foreign letters at the General Post-Office are open till *seven*. So that if a merchant at Bradford or Manchester were to send a clerk with his foreign letter, the clerk would have a full hour to put it into the evening box, which is all that is wanted. But the thing cannot or has not been done for the public. This looks very much like "the Circumlocution Office, or how not to do it." It will perhaps be altered.

On Monday 10 August there re-appeared the plan for expending three or four millions on pulling down the Government Offices and building new ; followed, as its cock-boat, by a vote for £2000 to make a gallery of portraits, in which each honourable gentleman hopes to see his own. All these are combinations of the influential classes, to spend money on their own pursuits and amusements, and make you pay for them. I have, as some of you know, a fancy for experiments in organ-building ; so you may expect some day to find me voting for organs, to be charged to your account.

All this might be well enough, if there was an overfullness of the Exchequer, as there is said to be in America. But as it is, they had better pay for their butcheries ; which you and I know they will make us pay for. They have to pay for killing the Chinese, in a war begun, as is now known, without a shadow of cause, and on pretences entirely colourable and false ; and there is no saying to how many millions the bill may come before it is done with. And they have to pay for a war in India, got up by the process of making their right wing fire upon their left ; the "best public instructors" assuring us, that our last shilling must be taken, in order that they may lap blood to their hearts' content. In similar circumstances of an individual, as for instance one of your men in trade, who with endless demands hanging over him could find no way of applying his money but in pulling down and picture-buying, would not the verdict of the public be, that the sooner he was made a bankrupt the better for everybody ?

Birmingham appears to have made its choice. Some of the

local papers uttered big words, about its being the first place that had protested by an election, against the propensities of the government. I think I know another place which was earlier. But the value of the Birmingham protest is greatly taken down, by the sort of recantation which appears to have been preliminary. Their member sees preparations making for the bloodiest acts of national disgrace that are to appear in history, but he will not oppose ;—if he had said he could not, he might have been only within the truth. But he will not,—and the reason is one worthy of the Holy Alliance, the fear of *anarchy*. Austria goes to work in Italy, and Russia in Poland, on the self-same plea. A country is to be steeped in blood, but it is necessary for the avoidance of anarchy, and we are to be very good boys afterwards. The intention elsewhere avowed, is to make India one great slave-yard. The literary *Legrees* are up in arms, to prove that the inhabitants of tropical countries are dark, and dark men are negroes, and negroes are an inferior race, and inferior races ought in justice to be slaves, and the Indians are tropical. To this plot, it occurs to me, the member for Birmingham strikes his colours. I wish he had held his peace about opposing.

On Tuesday, a notice by Sir De Lacy Evans produced a debate on India. The minister assured the House that no exertions required from England had excited a disposition in any of the European powers to take advantage. It might have been thought the question rather was, of what might be the effect on them by-and-by. He spoke too of the consequences of those exertions, as culminating in an appeal to parliament for money, in the style of a domestic in a great house saying "Master will draw a cheque." In the course of the debate the member for Birmingham was triumphantly cited as authority, and thirty thousand fighting men are to proceed without delay to India to prevent *anarchy*. We thank thee, Quaker, for that word.

On Wednesday 12 August the Probates and Ecclesiastical Causes Bill was read a Third Time and passed, amidst the cheers of the House at having got through so tough a piece of work.

Yours, &c.

13 August, 1857.



DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL.—TRIPARTITE
TREATY.

X.

ON Thursday 13 August and the day following, the principal and indeed almost sole occupation of the House was with the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill. The perplexities which have arisen to the great gratification of those who are anxious to defeat the Bill by delay, are mainly attributable to the anxiety displayed by influential portions of the House, to establish the inequality of the husband and wife on the question of divorce,—in other words to throw a shield round what one Member called “a passing error committed by the husband.” “Passing errors” mean street-walking connexions, and may be committed once a week, or oftener if need be. It would not require any great depth of scrutiny, to find consequences to which women in the mass are exposed from these “passing errors,” to which there is little or nothing that is parallel on the other side. But the lions will take care of themselves, where the lions are the sculptors; or as I heard it quaintly expressed by a Member near me, the legislation will be “all in favour of the cock birds.”

The attempts to diminish this radical inequality, were carried in some directions to an amusing extent. All sorts of cumulative criminalities were proposed, as what when added to the adultery of the husband should give the wife a claim to divorce. If it had been in the days of Charles or James, there would without doubt have been proposed to add, “or have attended a conventicle.”

The minister agreed to the insertion of “adultery under the conjugal roof.” This is taken from the Code Napoleon, and that again took it from the old Roman law. Napoleon said he should go down to posterity with his Code in his hand; and it is gratifying to those who were his contemporaries and in some directions his disciples, to see this confidence in the way of being fulfilled.

Petitions numerously signed by magistrates, professional men, married women, and even by some of the clergy, are making their appearance, against the prohibition of marriage with a wife's sister. So that another of the “downright untruths” of the ecclesiastical body is in danger. The petitions all keep clear of the absurdity of wanting to marry wife's nieces; a thing which stands on totally different grounds, and the embarrassing of the question with which, may be set down as an invention of the enemy.

The House met on Saturday, an unusual proceeding ; the object being supposed to be, to clear away a quantity of business, for the purpose of making room for attending to the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill.

On Monday 17 August, and on Tuesday, that Bill was carried forward in Committee. The government has given way to the admission of a Clause preventing legal proceedings against a clergyman who shall refuse to marry parties who by the Statute are to be allowed to marry. An ill-advised concession, 1st, because there was no practical harm likely to arise to any clergyman, it being clearly the interest of the supposed parties to find a clergyman who had no scruples against marrying them, and not to make a scandal by insisting on being married by one they knew would refuse. Secondly, because it is encouraging the clergy to set up false and colourable theories, "downright untruths" as the *Times* calls them, in opposition to the law. And thirdly, because it will help the recalcitrant clergy to throw a slur on those who profess obedience to the Statute.

The recalcitrant clergy and their advocates are not going the way to increase the popular respect for themselves or the doctrines they profess. So late as this day, the indissolubility of marriage was maintained, on the ground that the author of Christianity had said, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder ;" intentionally concealing the fact, that in what on laying together the several accounts may be denominated the same breath, he added, "saving for unchastity." There is no trusting these men ; they are not capable witnesses of what is in their books, and what is not.

Some friends are anxious to know the reason of the opposition made by the government to a canal to Suez. I think I have already stated my belief, that it was on account of the French connexion. When you are looking to the French for aid to shoot your customers in China, and possibly to assist one half of your army in India to massacre the other, you must do or let alone, as pleases France, and as the French Emperor comes here to settle. Your government is in something akin to the position with France in the time of Charles the Second. You cannot at the same time be dependent on your ally, and oppose your ally.

This is all confirmatory of what has for a long time lived in my belief, that there exists what may be called a Tripartite Treaty, not engrossed on parchment or authenticated by signatures, but enforced by mutual understanding, between the English, French, and American governments, the last

being to be otherwise expressed by calling it the Slave Power. As this is in the line of the Foreign Affairs Committees, I recommend to them to see whether it is not confirmed by facts past, present, and to come. The purport of the agreement may be held to be, that none shall counteract any project of the other, but on the contrary, aid. Thus there is no idea of pushing a canal to Suez, if France does not like it. If France sets up, as she is doing, a new Slave Trade, the opposition of the English government will be of that measured kind, which is useful when there is no intention to succeed. If America has views on Cuba and in Central America, see whether the fact is not, that of English opposition there will be none, or none but to save appearances. In return for all this, France is looked to for more or less of aid if required, in the quarters intimated. The Foreign Affairs Committees will thank me, for pointing out the opportunity of exercising their peculiar turn of mind.

The day after the above was written, some illustrations of the "Unwritten Treaty" as regards America, appear in the *Times* (19 Aug.). An American newspaper intimates that, on certain conditions, "it is very likely that 50,000 men could be enlisted in a few weeks" in America by the English, for service in India. To which the *Times* responds by declaring that "Clive and his contemporaries may easily be regarded as Filibusters on a magnificent scale. Hastings and Wellesley, though they might not profess the doctrine, carried out the decrees of 'Manifest Destiny' with unexampled vigour." Whence "the half-civilized States of the American Continent may be left without interference on our part to adjust their future relations with their formidable neighbour. The world is wide enough for both branches of the race to spread without collision or interference. With India to govern and Australia to cultivate, Englishmen may look without jealousy or regret on the progress of the American Union towards the Southern Continent."

What does this point to, but a Treaty among Filibusters? One take India, and the other the Southern Continent of America.

On Wednesday 19 August the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill got through Committee. The government proposed and carried a clause, whereby in the case of a clergyman's refusal to marry divorced persons, any other clergyman may come to the church and do it. The whole proceeding has been awkwardly managed; for there will

never be peace again, between the clergyman who will not, and the clergyman who will. Much better have left everything to take its chance.

Yours, &c.

19 August, 1857.



**MILITIA BILL.—MOTION FOR RETURN OF NATIVE SOLDIERS
BLOWN FROM GUNS.—APPEAL TO THE OPERATIVE HEAD
AND PEASANT HEART.**

XI.

ON Thursday 20 August the third reading of the Militia Bill produced from the great guns of the Opposition some unreasonable attacks upon the government, who certainly have enough to answer for, without being assailed for that on which they were harmless. The point chosen, was to say the government ought to have kept up their military establishments in 1856, to meet the exigencies of 1857. This is a specimen of the argumentation with which late events have made us familiar. An official who receives £4,000 a year as Superintendent of Trade in China, stops all trade in December on pretences which himself allows to be false, and when pressed for a reason, points to the Chinese having physicked him in January. The Tiverton speech took up the same line of argument. Your friends of the Foreign Affairs Committees will find, that if they determine to be Foreign statesmen, they must be logicians too, and a great many more things which are behind. They will therefore thank me for noting to them, that the fallacy or weak point in this kind of argument, consists in taking the consequences and placing them among the causes. Jack beat his wife on Sunday, because she scratched his face on Monday.

Akin to this, though perhaps not exactly the same, is the charge of the Opposition that the government ought to have kept up their military establishments in 1856, because there were exigencies in 1857. The question resolves itself into whether there was a reasonable expectation. The government are not charged with reducing the whole military establishment, but with not keeping up the whole. There might have been such a thing as an irrational reduction; but this is not the thing charged.

The proposal therefore seems to be,—that we shall expend our last shilling in time of war, and expend it in time of peace too, lest there should be war by and by. On this plan, how

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long will our last shillings last? Does anybody in private life carry out such a system? And if he did, how long would he keep out of the *Gazette*?

To return to the particular case,—was it possible for the government to foresee, or was it within the sphere of reasonable expectation, that an official as above should of his own mere motion manufacture a war in China costing unknown millions before it is done with, or that highly-paid rulers in India should set one half their army to fire upon the other, on grounds which they have declared, when all too late, they are ready to give up? The very last book on Indian Mutinies I sent to Bradford, contains the proof. It is the parish idiot putting out his candle after he has set the bed on fire. If he could have found in his heart to do it before, he would have saved wise men enormous trouble. But for all this, we must pay; and what is more, we shall have to find honours and pensions for the men who have “been and done it.”

At the conclusion of Thursday's sitting, a noble-hearted Irishman made his first essay in the House by moving for a return of the sepoys blown from guns, and by whose directions. When he had finished, I concluded that men on the government side were settling who should make response; instead of which it appeared the motion was to pass not seconded. This is one of the consequences of half the proceedings of the House taking place in a manner not audible to the naked ear. I should certainly have considered myself dishonoured, and you would have held me such, if after what I had said on a former night, I had knowingly declined to second. But if there was any demand for a seconder, I did not hear it. To one thing, however, I wish to testify. It is utterly untrue that there was an ironical cheering in the House, as stated by some of the newspapers. I did hear one or two members near me, who do not pass for Solons, make a kind of school-boy titter at the funniness of a man's not being seconded. But this was all; the rest is manufacture, for the benefit of the hungry dupe the public. I state it, to save the House of Commons from a dishonour, and shall be ready to give evidence thereto on the day of account.

If there were disagreeable things, there were also of the contrary. Williams of Kars, made a stand against the obsolete barbarism of “razing Delhi.” The public has been amused by the never-to-be-forgotten satire of “the Circumlocution Office, or how not to do it.” But it is astonishing how often men in all tracks in life, set themselves to discover “how not to do it.” Take for instance the case in India. Can

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anything be more manifest, than that every disgusting exhibition of vengeful power makes twenty enemies for one it removes? The case is mournful in the extreme; but what cannot the silliness of official man effect? The relation between the English and the Natives of the settled parts of India, was not one of hostility but of friendship. As regarded the native soldiery, there was the same kind of union which may have existed between the Saxon bill and Norman bow, a hundred years after the battle of Hastings. The natives were highly accessible to military fame, proud of their successes over other Asiatics, and quite willing to allow a full share of the merit to their European leaders. Successful English generals were commemorated under the low roofs of their followers, as *Cœur de Lion* and the Black Prince might have been in England, without asking if they were of Norman blood. The faithful adhesion of the Native army, came as nearly as circumstances would admit, to a constitutional acceptance of British rule; for these men were all volunteers, and brought with them and left behind, the feeling of attachment to the British crown. But all this must be over now. It was done away with, by acts as stupid and as cruel, as if the Scotch regiments in the service had been fired upon by the English, for not taking the sacrament after the manner of the Church of England. I wonder what the 42nd would have done in such a case, and how far the consequences would have differed from what has been seen in India. I doubt whether they would not have smitten hip and thigh, with scarcely the old Israelitish exception; for as for the "accumulated horrors" you are told of, set them down as falsehoods manufactured for the John Bull market, at all events till you have better evidence. If you will observe, you will see that these stories always depend on what was heard from third parties, and that when the eye-witnesses tell the story, they omit these particulars. I do not doubt that a sepoy killed man, woman, and child, after his own wife and children had been treacherously fired upon, but I disbelieve all the rest till better proof; among other reasons, because they are contrary to Native habits. We know the stratagem played off upon us. They are to begin any kind of horror they please, bombard a defenceless town like Canton, or set the right of the line to fire with artillery on the huts and families of the left,—and if the injured copy any of the examples set them, then cry out upon "atrocities" and call for "our last shillings." Surely in vain is the net set in the sight of any bird. But India can in no event ever be what it

was before. Instead of an attached and useful portion of an Empire, it can only henceforth be a dangerous slave-yard; and old friends and companions of Wilberforce in parliament are fidgeting for asking a blessing. European improvements of all kinds were fast going ahead, and though of course this was in opposition to some Native feelings, the improvements might have gone on gradually for ever, *if only they would not have greased their Sepoys*. There was but one match that could have produced a general explosion; and they applied it. An English officer will never again see his wife and child whisked up by fourteen naked Achilles, and hurried on their shoulders 150 miles over hill and dale, none thinking of fear or harm. The truth is, that with the exception of political injustices which flew over the heads of the multitude, the condition of things in India was a monument of English talent and it may be added virtue, for the individual English were almost always well-conducted. But all this is at an end. We are given over to our reprobates and our incapables. The foot of the beast is upon us;—that “British lion” will be the death of us. It means the readiness to sacrifice every principle of our forefathers, and every rule which wise and able men from heathen days to the present have established for the maintenance of honest empire, to the bestial passion for exhibiting destructive power, with a cowardly preference for exercising it on the weak.

Doubtless if it could be tried, there would be found “more than ten thousand men,” who have not bowed before this brutish Baal. But nobody would know where to lay hands on them; unless they tried in the Foreign Affairs Committees. Let us hope for a good muster from that quarter, in the day of appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, which is surely coming. I am loth to lose any opportunity of avowing my full conviction, that the Foreign Affairs Committees are the rising-up of the Operative head and Peasant heart, against the sanguinary incapacity of their rulers.

On Monday 25 August the House met for a short time on business of no great mark. On Tuesday it met to consider the amendments of the Lords on the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill; which were agreed to. The House then adjourned till Friday, when is to be the prorogation. So ends the first session of the Canton parliament. On which text, more hereafter.

Yours, &c.

26 August, 1857.



PROROGATION OF THE CANTON PARLIAMENT.—BEARING OF THE
CANTON ATROCITY ON EVENTS IN INDIA.

XII.

ON Friday 28 August, parliament was prorogued by commission, with the usual ceremonies.

Now then comes ministers' holiday, when all and anything may be done, without fear of being disturbed by question or encountered by advice. It looks like an instance of the small wisdom with which the Swedish statesman said the world was governed, that the day should have closed with disastrous news, of the effects of men setting fire to the four corners of their own homestead in India.

But there is more to think of than that; or at all events there are things at home, the consequences of things abroad, which cannot be overlooked in attention to the other.

I called the past session the Canton parliament; and now to support. An official abroad, on pretexts which have been proved to be from first to last without a shadow of truth, employed the public force in a massacre of your defenceless customers, with a view to the making of fortunes for smugglers in the Opium trade. A vote of parliament, the highest inquest known to the country, declared the atrocity of the proceeding; but the minister saw other chances, and dissolved the parliament. All the bad elements in the country rose, under the title of "British lions," and every man who resisted the nation's dishonour was trodden down, and the country's best servants driven from the House of Commons. Falsehoods of the most glaring kind came down to meet the elections pending; and if the thing had been within the limits of practicability, there would have been justice in demanding that the whole should be annulled. A precedent occurred towards the conclusion of the French revolutionary war, probably therefore in 1813. A post-chaise and four started from the coast towards London, the inmates announcing along the road that the Emperor of the French was killed, and a new government constituted with a view to speedy peace. It drove to the Stock Exchange, where the consequences may be surmised. The concerned made their gains by the sale of stock; but, if memory does not mislead, they were met the next day by something like a legislative enactment, annulling all proceedings of the day preceding. Some will say it is pity the same kind of thing could not have been done after the *coup d'état* of 1857.

But it may be more useful to pass on to the future. Will

your friends of the Foreign Affairs Committees so far transfer their attention for a moment to the Home, as to reflect what a powerful argument is here presented in favour of what, till some better term is known, may be called the *continuity* of parliaments? The idea is nothing new; for if I am not mistaken, Mr. Roebuck among others has advanced it. Among the questions started by our Radical Reformers, one is of the duration of parliaments. Should parliaments be for seven years, three, one, or oftener if need be? Query thereupon, if a better thing than any of these, would not be that parliaments should be *continuous*? That is to say, that every representative should hold his seat for a given number of years,—the precise number would possibly in the end be found of diminished importance,—and so, after the lapse of time, members go in and out of parliament in the same order as they come into the world, thus utterly avoiding the thing called an appeal to the people, but which may equally be the experiment of a minister upon the gullibility of the people, aided from all kinds of sources which the moment may supply.

The question demands a calm consideration. It is easy to get up an outcry against it, but it does not follow that the outcry would be right. The points for consideration are, what are the advantages of the thing called the appeal to the people? Does it or is it likely to take place under circumstances favourable for wise action on the part of the popular elements? May they not as easily be wrong as right? May not an ill-disposed ministry take the opportunity of any passing falsehood or delusion, to get itself an extended term? Admitting the wholesomeness of popular influence, would it not be better exerted by degrees, and with more certainty of being ultimately right? To take the actual instance,—If the question of supporting the Canton massacre had been left to be settled by the influx of new members, should we ever have been where we are now, with a million paid down to serve the purposes of dishonest officials, and undefined millions in prospect before the thing is done with? The English people will be wanting in the wisdom which comes by experience, if on this head they do not learn a lesson.

But it would not be fair to stop here. The Chinese atrocity had a visible bearing upon what has happened in India. It is of no use to say it was not meant to have; part of the damnation of immorality, public and private, is that nobody knows in what way his sin may find him out. Of course the perpetrators of the Chinese atrocity expected to have all

good luck,—submissive Chinese, glorious plunder, applauding rogues at home, pensions and baronetcies to the actors. Instead of this, fighting Chinese, reinforcements carried off elsewhere, reputable men rallying at home, actors likely to be nailed like kites to the wall for the benefit of the coming age. And worse than all, the Indian mischief is irreparable, so far as the Chinese business had a share. If the authors of the Chinese villainy had met with instant punishment instead of being supported with troops from India, it is not at all impossible that what has since happened in India might have been avoided. But so it is everywhere. There is not an avenging dæmon on the earth, with commission to fly away with every man who abuses his public trust to the massacre of his neighbours; but there is an avenging Providence which almost always in the long run sends the punishment, and in no way more frequently than by making the supporters, like our British lions, run their heads into the noose that hangs them. Let no man henceforth do evil, without seriously reflecting how much farther it may go than he intended, and how he may find himself at last in the position of the unhappy penitent who exclaims at the drop that “wine and women have been his ruin.”

Commending to the attention of your readers to carry farther than I have been able,

Yours, &c.

31 August, 1857.



TAXATION.—FAIRNESS TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

XIII.

AFTER the subjects which have made the staple of much of our past correspondence, it may be a relief to return to the question of “What are, and are not, the interests of the Working Classes on the matter of Taxation.”

And here it would be to libel the Working Classes, to suppose their object to be to know how they can pay least and other people most. This would be taking a leaf out of their adversaries’ book, which I am sure they would never agree to. All their conduct goes to prove, that what they want is to cultivate the knowledge of the ways in which different forms of taxation affect different classes, and build on it some plan for approaching to a just distribution.

They cannot, however, give up the ground started from in past time, which was, that there is a struggle between the

Working and the Richer classes for what are called Direct and Indirect Taxation, or to express it otherwise, Income Tax and Taxes upon objects of general consumption. The interest of the richer classes is that taxation should be laid upon objects of general consumption ; particularly if they can contrive, as they *have* contrived, to make the poor pay at increased rates on what they consume, mounting in some cases as high as eleven times. And the necessary and honest interest of the Working Classes on the other hand is, that the rich should be made to pay a fair share of the public burthens through the medium of a tax on Income, including a fair allowance to the Working Classes for excessive payments in the other quarter.

And here I would propose that the question between what is called an Income Tax and a Property Tax, for the present be postponed. Whether there should be one, or the other, or both, may conveniently be discussed after settling the principle which is at the bottom of all three. But for the present we will use the term Income Tax for shortness.

The Working Classes cannot help being sensible, that a tax on articles which every man consumes alike or approaching to alike, is of the nature of a Poll Tax, or of the old-fashioned Statute-work on the roads (which the French call *corvée*) by which every man was bound to give three days' labour, the rich of course sending their substitutes. No statesman in the present day would dare to propose either of the two last ; and it only wants the Working Classes to look a little into their own affairs, to show weighty cause for examination and revision of the other.

A rich man does not consume, either in his person or in his family, much more bread, beef, beer, tea, sugar, and salt, than a poor man, or at all events nothing like in proportion to his riches. On these kind of articles, therefore, taxation, *even though it be supposed equable*, is of the nature of the Poll Tax and the Statute-work, which everybody in these days condemns. Still more, *if it is not equable*, as for instance where the poor man was made to pay eleven times as much tax out of his shilling's worth of tobacco as the rich.

But, it has been urged, the poor must and will live. They must always receive what will enable them to live, and therefore if they are taxed eleven times more than the rich, the only consequence will be that wages must rise to meet it.

One answer to this which will fly to every poor man's lips, is to ask why, if this is so, the rich, who are the regulators of everything, could not be content to let the whole alone. Taxing the poor at an eleven-fold rate, when it comes to be

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examined, will not be a popular thing. Why then do the rich give themselves the trouble to tax the poor in this manner, if they are to gain nothing by it but the unpopularity ?

The truth is, they know they *do* gain by it. They know there would be an enormous difference between taxing the poor in this manner and taxing themselves. It is true the poor man must live ; but he may *live worse*, and the difference may go into the rich man's pocket in the shape of avoiding taxation. Not perhaps to the whole amount, but to a valuable portion. It will be a long time before the poor man will agree that he ought to be taxed on articles of consumption at eleven times the rate of the rich, and this because he will take it out in wages. If the poor man might have his way, he would ask to be taxed at no higher rate than the rich, and let his wages take their chance.

If then taxes on articles of common consumption, even though at an equal rate for all, bear too hard upon the Working Classes, it is for the Working Classes to inquire what other modes of taxation there may be, which may make them compensation by throwing the requisite share of the burthen on the richer classes. And this to be effectual must not only throw an *equal* or *equable* share on the richer classes, but it must throw more than the equable, if there is any intention to produce final fairness to the Working Classes.

And the way in which this must be gone about, is by taxing the rich in some proportion or other to their wealth. If there was no unfair taxation upon the poor, it might possibly be generally agreed, that every man should be taxed in a uniform proportion to his wealth. A great deal might certainly be said, in favour of taxing the rich at a rate increasing in some shape with the wealth. If a man of £500 a-year is to pay 5 per cent, there would be no glaring impropriety in a man of £50,000 a-year paying 10. It is only *twice* the rate, and there was no scruple at making the poor man pay *eleven* times. And the reason why the man of £50,000 a-year should pay more, is that he can a great deal better spare it, and that he will not in truth make anything like the personal sacrifices for the public weal, which are demanded from the poor. Compare the sacrifice of a man with £50,000 a-year who should pay 10 per cent instead of 5, with the sacrifice of a poor man who is called upon to give up any means of livelihood he may possess, and go to serve as an army pensioner to preserve his shilling a-day. The rich should think of these things, before the poor take to too curiously examining them.

When anything of the kind is proposed, the rich set up the

cry of "confiscation." There was no cry of confiscation when the poor were taxed eleven times. As it is to be supposed that men mean something by a cry, the thing they wanted to saddle us with was this. They wanted to have the proposal considered as being, that if, for instance, a man of £500 a-year was to pay 5 per cent., a man of £5000 a-year was to pay 50 per cent., and a man of £10,000 a-year 100 per cent., which is taking all he has. They wanted to saddle us with this extreme silliness. But that makes no reason why we should be saddled. Nobody ever proposed anything of the kind, and there is no danger of anybody proposing it now.

One argument, if I remember right, of the men who set up this cry of "confiscation," was that the sums paid annually would in time amount to the whole present value of the property. And upon this they thought to build their cry. But is not this true of all payments actual or conceivable? If a man has to pay out of a certain property 1 per cent. annually, does not that in a hundred years amount to what the property would sell for; but is it consistent with common sense, to talk about this being "confiscation?" Sift this cry of confiscation, and it will be found a capital jest.

The historical fact is, that nobody ever deliberately proposed anything in this direction, beyond freeing the possessors of certain smaller incomes from the tax, or what would be a more ship-shape way of doing the thing, allowing every man to deduct a certain amount, as say £200, from his income, and pay upon the difference. And in something of this kind it is, that the Working Classes should look for what soldiers call their "overslaugh," or compensation for extra duty done.

If the Working Classes are to do anything towards holding their own in this matter, they must try to master the objections which the interests opposed will make. And these objections, so far as observed, reduce themselves principally to three.

1. That an income tax falls unfairly on the holders of temporary property, as life-estates or annuities.
2. That it ought not to fall equally on incomes derived from industry like those of professional men, and on incomes from landed property.
3. That it is a tax upon economy, as making a man pay over and over upon his savings.

These appear to be among the principal objections which the Working Classes will have to answer. In a future letter endeavour shall be made to try their validity. Error, said

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Milton, is but opinion in the making. And so it is possible we may fall into errors ; happy if in the end we can struggle into truth.

Yours, &c.

9 September, 1857.



TAXATION.—FAIRNESS TO THE WORKING CLASSES (CONTINUED).

XIV.

I AM to reply to the objection that an Income Tax falls unfairly on the holders of temporary property, as life-estates or annuities.

When the Working Classes are pressed with this argument as a reason why the taxes should all be levied on their sugar, malt, or tea, I advise them to answer, that the hardship brought forward arises out of the Income Tax being considered as a tax for a spirt, as for instance when some man's massacre and its consequences must be paid for, and to be given up when the pressure ceases ; instead of being made as far as practicable a constant, uniform method of paying a certain portion of the ordinary or average expenditure. If this was reduced to act, it is plain that the man who had ten years' interest in a property, would pay for ten years, and the man or family who had a perpetual interest in a property would pay to perpetuity. Take the things into the market,—perhaps you are not used to such questions at Bradford,—but send it to London into the hands of the most trustworthy of attorneys and the most skilful of actuaries, and see if the present values of the ten years' man's payment and his of the perpetuity are not to a farthing proportioned to the present values, or to what would be given in the market for the properties themselves.

It needs no conjuror to tell us, that if I go on paying Income Tax for ten years on £100 a-year of life property, as for instance half-pay, and then the Income Tax ceases and I die,—and if another man has paid for the same time on £100 a-year left to him in fee simple, as for instance from landed property,—the same precise amount has been charged on my property, as on another whose value if settled in the market would have been somewhere about three times as great. But the fraud has been in laying a tax which it was intended to make me pay for ten years, and then relieve the landed man from the remainder of his fair proportion. Those who

regulate the Income Tax know it would be practically impossible to make two scales, or more properly twenty scales, one for the men of perpetual income and the others for the varieties of temporary income which may arise. There is puzzle enough in ascertaining men's incomes as it is, without perplexing the subject with ascertaining the probable duration. Knowing therefore that the thing cannot be set right in this way, they set it wrong in the other.

Next is the question of professional incomes. And here, so far as they are temporary or life interests, they fall under the last head. If a just portion of the public expenses was provided by a permanent Income Tax, the professional men would have no ground of complaint on that point. Remains then the ground, that they ought not to pay taxes because they are industrious. Why is a man not to pay taxes because he is industrious, if he be also rich? The Working Classes pay taxes and more than their share, by taxes on articles of consumption, and they are industrious *without* being rich. The man who is making £1000 a-year by a profession is undoubtedly industrious, but it is not so clear whence his claim arises for escaping taxation. Taxation is, or ought to be, a contribution for purposes necessary to the public safety or well-being. Suppose then the case of a watch-rate to guard against fire, and men agree to support it by a tax on the property to be watched. Will the owner of a factory, a warehouse, or a shop, step forward and say, "I am an industrious character, therefore I cannot pay watch-rate?" Is there any likelihood that the plea would be admitted by his neighbours? In short, what connexion is there between a man's being industrious, and his property being less valuable to him and less worth paying for watching, than the property of somebody who lived on what his father has made by industry before him? I cannot help thinking in this there are reasons, why the Working Classes should not give into the plea that there ought not to be an Income Tax, on such a ground as the last.

An observation here, is that it will be very difficult ever to prevent temporary outbursts of expenditure from falling unfairly upon temporary incomes. The inference from which is, that officials should be restrained from wantonly causing outbursts of expenditure; and not that permanent expenses should not be paid by Income Tax.

We come now to the newest objection to Income Tax, which is that it taxes men's savings over and over. If a man with £1000 a-year of rents lives upon £500 of it, and applies the difference from time to time to purchasing more land, in a

certain number of years he will have doubled his rents ; and upon all these additions to his rental he will have been obliged to pay Income Tax. And this is called paying over and over.

The question therefore is whether this is not exactly what a man would gladly pay for, in the supposed case of a watch-rate to guard against fire. Instead of a land-owner, suppose a mill-owner, and he saves half his profits annually, and adds to his mills. Will he urge that he ought not to pay watch-rate for watching his new mills ? Will Saltaire for instance ever plead, that it should not pay for watching, because Saltaire was made by savings ?

Comes now the question between an Income Tax and a Property Tax. And here the plea advanced, if carried out, would seem to imply, that a man in the enjoyment of £10,000 a-year of income without property, as for instance a pension, should pay nothing to the expenses of the State, but the family whose bread-winner has left them a couple of hundred pounds in the Stocks, should pay upon it because it is property. This does not look well for the case ; and it is evident that the instance taken is not an imaginary one. Are there not then on the other side, people who have property and no income ? Very few ; for what is the good of property and no income ? But something else is plain ; which is, that in the main there is something very like a uniform proportion between men's incomes, and their property not producing income. A man of £10,000 a-year has, it may be, a year's income lodged in unproductive property, as pictures, furniture, hot-houses ; and the man of £500 a-year has something approaching to the same proportion. What then would be the use of taxing these two men on both their income and their property not producing income ? Would it not come to the same thing, to put a competent rate on one ? Would anybody seriously propose, that in addition to the tax-gatherer's inquiries about income,—not abstractedly a pleasant thing, though by use it has become so far tolerable that the most grievous thing about it is having too little income to return,—would anybody propose that in addition to this he should require a return of the number of silver spoons in the pantry, of books in the library, and of pictures in the hall ? Scarcely any man if asked, "Will you be taxed the same number of pounds on your income or on your property ?" would hesitate to say "Let it be on my income by all means, and save both of us the trouble of poking into my property." It may be set down, therefore, that there would be no general

desire for being taxed on property in preference to income; and the extent to which taxation on *both*, would be a needless making of two troubles instead of one, will always be an impediment to the adoption of that system.

It would be presumptuous to say all this is right; yet I cannot help thinking there is in it, what should put the Working Classes on looking about them before they join in crying down an Income Tax, which, if justly managed, would appear to be the provision of nature for making the wealthier classes pay their share.

Yours, &c.

16 September, 1857.

LETTER ON INDIA, PUBLISHED FOUR YEARS AGO.

xv.

23 September, 1857.

THE letter on India here following, from a monthly paper published at Manchester under the title of the *Constitutional*, has been sent to me by a friend, when in truth I had almost forgotten it. As from its date in 1853, it was clearly written without any immediate connexion with present events, it may probably be as interesting to those of our friends who desire information of the kind concerned, as anything else I could propose to them.

ON INDIA.

To the Editor of the Constitutional.

Blackheath, 21 June, 1853.

SIR,—As you have offered me an opportunity of giving my impressions on the subject of India, and an offer of that kind cannot with propriety be evaded by one who is known to have had some years' acquaintance with the country, I will present a rapid sketch, to count for what it may be worth, among the clashing representations which, at a period like the present, will undoubtedly appear.

The British occupation of India was not from the beginning an act of avowed aggression and spoliation like the French seizure of Algeria. It commenced in the peaceful establishment of trading factories. But these soon, in one way or other, became belligerent parties. In their earliest stages, they had occasionally to arm in self-defence, and this led to forming alliances with those who had quarrels of their own. It was not long before the scene was changed, from merchants desiring to buy and sell, to conquerors taking possession of the resources of vast countries and applying them to their own use.

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The mode in which the wealth of the conquered countries was and continues to be appropriated, is simply this. The Government takes the rent of all the land, and every young civil servant who starts as a Collector of Revenue, feels his point of honour placed in discovering what increase of rent can be demanded, without driving the cultivators into rebellion or desertion of the soil. An odd state of things would this be held to be, if a host of foreigners, possessed of superior intelligence and military talents, should fall from the clouds and declare themselves the owners of all the rent in England. But the cases are much alike. At the same time, the invention was not wholly English. The Mohammedan conquerors who preceded, had done a good deal in that line; which made it easier for the English to carry it out. At this moment, in the countries entirely under British rule, there can scarcely be said to exist such a thing as a middle-class agriculturalist, or anything between a tenant at rack-rent and the sovereign rulers. At all events, I never saw one.

The British in India therefore may be considered as a detachment from Great Britain, sent out to live upon the country, and bring home fortunes if they can. The revenues, or in other words the rents of India, are divided among the various civil and military servants of the Crown and Company, in such portions as the existing Government shall direct, from the Governor-General to the recruit who carries a musket. As all of these either expend a considerable portion of their income on European goods, or send it home, the transfer is of course made in such Indian commodities as are most favourable; and this is called trade. But it is manifestly all soluble into the seizure of the Indian rents. There is also a portion of trade in return for European articles consumed by the Natives; but not to any great extent. The seizure of the revenues is what keeps the whole upon its legs.

The causes which prop and continue this supremacy, appear to be two. First, the fact that the civil government of India is really better administered than anything else the Natives are acquainted with, or likely to get. And secondly, the great propensity of the Natives of India to follow the trade of soldiers. Hence if the Europeans can first get possession of the revenues, and then expend a portion of them on raising a Native army, with better security for pay and pensions than their rivals, they may raise an army to defend their possession of the revenues; and this they accordingly do.

The result of this state of things, is that every European in India has a distinct pecuniary interest in getting possession

of new revenues,—in other words, what the Americans, with the success which always attends the inventors of a filthy term, have taught Europeans to call *annexation*. The Governor-General is bound to annex something or other, or where will be his chance for a peerage when he comes back? The regimental captain, particularly if in the Company's service, calculates the number of new regiments, with majorities of course in each, which would be raised on the *annexation* of such and such a district. The civil servant, in the same way, dwells in his dreams on the increase to the civil service which must take place, and counts on the lift which would be given him towards returning home with a chance of being returned for the Direction. The churchman speculates upon the glories of new ecclesiastical establishments among the heathen, and in imagination sees a Bishop of Thibet and an Archbishop of Peking. The private soldier looks for prize-money and other chances of his calling; besides the general preference which all men have for falling in the field rather than rotting in a barrack.

In addition to all this, popular opinion at home is entirely in favour of every kind of aggression, with one proviso only, that it be *successful*. A man possessed of power in India, must take his chances of success into his hand, as he does his life. He may fail, as he may be killed; but he must make up his mind to risk both, or drag on with the character of a harmless milksop, who if he had staid at home, would never have had the spirit to take a purse or stop a traveller.

This is the true seat of the difficulty in respect of India. Every man who goes there knows that he goes to seize on all he can get, and that his honour and credit in India and at home depend on the quantum of his success. If asked, the greater part would acknowledge this, with the same candour as a lady of standing in India avowed that she came out to seek a husband. The case is nearly hopeless. Lords and Commons are all for it; and in the foremost ranks are the class of Liberals, whose cue is to confound what *will* be done with what *must* be done. Sometimes they stand on the right and the necessity for the *European* to live by plunder; and sometimes, when disposed to be more particular, they concentrate their claim upon the *Anglo-Saxon*. These form the rear rank who push the others into the fray.

What is the duty of honest men in such circumstances, it is not easy to define. There appears small chance of cure, unless as public opinion in the course of time may change. It has changed in respect of border cow-stealing, once deemed an

honourable process; and it may change on this. To see where the source of the evil lies, is at least a respectable step towards resistance. It may be doubted whether the introduction of European settlers would improve the state of things or the contrary. If they are to possess land, they must buy it of the only party having land to sell, which is the Government. A portion of the power of rack-renting must be made over into their hands, for a price. Your vulgar European has much the same feeling towards a native of India, that an American has towards a negro. There would be great danger that an importation of European settlers would be something like an importation of the weasel tribe into a rabbit-warren.

Of all this, clouds and darkness rest upon the end. There is neither scripture nor experience, for the way of the unrighteous being smooth. The unrighteous of course will go on as long as they are able. Their tenure is always frail. A charge of cavalry when the Frenchman recommended it, might in the last war have raised a hundred States against the existing domination. A Europeo-Asiatic power will probably at some time give the signal for a break-up; and in the meantime all extension of territory is playing into its hands. Whether the condition of India would be mended by this, may be another question; but this is not the question now. Stories of military impossibilities, the impracticableness of passing this desert or finding support in that country, always melt away before good troops and bold commanders. There appear but two ways; one, to let the disease run its course; the other, to try the chances of deferring the breaking-up, by stopping the *annexation*, and giving the inhabitants of India reason to dread rather than wish a change.

Here we shall be met by those who urge, that if the condition of the Natives of India is brought nearer to that of the European invaders, the tenure of the invaders will thereby be less secure. It is quite true. They are between two fires. God has not laid upon you and me the task of settling with which end of the rope the culprit shall be hung.

If well-meaning friends can pick light from any of this, it is much at their service.

Yours very sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.



REPORT ON "TORTURE IN INDIA."

XVI.

A DESIRE having been expressed by friends to be made acquainted with the contents of the parliamentary publications relating to the miserable transactions in India, along with such comments as an acquaintance of some years with the country might lead to, I proceed to put down such observations as have occurred to me in a progress through the materials. And I am the more induced to do this, by finding in many places the confirmation of what was submitted to your readers in your last.

The first of the publications taken up, was the book on "Torture in India," which has been for some time in the hands of our friends in Bradford and elsewhere. And here I am bound to acknowledge having come to a conclusion, not altogether expected in the outset, but which it would be dishonest to disavow or to conceal. And that is, that the high civil servants of the East India Company, so soon as the thing was brought before them, behaved with the same propriety, as the dignitaries of the law in England on the outburst of the murders and cruelties on board merchant ships. It may always be urged against men in high official stations, that they ought to have found things out sooner; and there is always a certain allowance to be made for their telling their own story, and a degree of assurance felt that they make the best of their case and not the worst. But with every allowance for this, there are things which men can do, and things they cannot do. It may be difficult to hinder them from garbling—as in the notable instance of the interpolation of "the fort of" Delhi in the report of the speech of the President of the Board of Control in the House of Commons on the 29th of June, and which naturally enough is copied from the *Times* newspaper into Hansard's Debates. It may be difficult to hinder this; but men cannot and will not forge whole letters that never existed, or give a new turn to a correspondence which the next month would explode.

The case then on "Torture" appears to have been this. The Native officials were always given to the practice, and among the Europeans were individuals of what in Oriental metaphor would be called "low caste," who encouraged the Natives in it. Everybody who has seen much of the world at large, will be perfectly acquainted with the kind of man, from the indignant description of one of them which is thus poured out in the correspondence of the Secretary to the

Chief Commissioner for the Punjaub, with the Secretary to the government of India in Fort William, dated Lahore, 8 February, 1855. "He seems possessed with a species of infatuation in regard to the use of espionage, the employment of personal *attachés*, and the application of indiscriminate severity; from this vicious system experience does not seem to deter him, nor advice dissuade."

Whatever this may be, it is not complicity. There is no coquetting between the agents of the mischief and the government, as there is in the last parliamentary paper issued, between the author of the massacre of Canton and his employers at home; where we have "the prompt, generous, and unreserved approval of Her Majesty's Government" paraded to the unmanly atrocity. The servants of the East India Company, though nothing like immaculate in the aggregate, contain many able and many good men. It is clear enough what they are doing here; they are struggling with individuals of degraded habits and low information, the class in fact who work mischief everywhere.

This observation has put me on the alert, and I feel anxious to communicate it to friends. The first care of men in our position should be, not to run our heads blindfold into a noose. There will be blame enough due in abundance of quarters, for the miserable events which have taken place. But they have not been created of *malice prepense* by the Civil government, like the massacre and war in China. It has long been surmised that the influx of English immigrants into India was not favourable to its peace. It is among this class that you find men writing, "We hang them like fun." Fancy you had a race of foreigners in your country, who were "hanging you like fun." The same class of men appear to be standing up at Calcutta, and begging of you to assist in the centralization of all power in India in the hands of the minister for the time being. Suspect this counsel. The object is to get increased power to do mischief. The East India Company, so far as it exists in a Court of Proprietors, may be considered as a sort of parliament, presenting a certain degree of check to the proceedings of an arbitrarily disposed ministry. It is always better to have two bodies concerned than one; for there is the chance that one may check the other. "A very humane speech," said the door-keeper of the House of Commons one night; and the speech came from an East India Director. On the other hand I find the reprobates in India,—men who cannot indite a letter but in the language of thieves and prostitutes,—distinctly an-

nouncing their opinion, that what they are doing with Indian villagers is what ought to have been done with Chartists at home. Is there any doubt, that all this, unless by special interference of Providence, is to come back on us here in due time ?

I would say then to friends, do not run your heads into the snare, of crying for the transfer of all power in India to the minister. We can talk to an Indian Director, and get an answer from him as from any other business man. Or if we did not, the proprietors could deal with him. But the minister would put us off with bad jokes. Or he could dissolve parliament, under a fire of any kind of misrepresentations, and set the British ass upon us under the name of British lion. We had better look twice, and consider whether things, bad as they may be, would be mended by listening to these lions' counsel.

I suspect it is this class of men, who are bent on introducing negro slavery through the continent of India. Not introducing negroes as cultivators, but turning the three hundred millions of India into negro slaves. They have made the discovery, that the Natives of India are negroes, and they bawl for slavery accordingly. They have imported the detestable words which disgrace the American tongue,—words which honest men and gentlemen dare not befoul their mouths withal,—and it is odds if they are not in imagination sending for packs of negro dogs from New Orleans. At this moment there is a proposal in the English papers, for sending the Indian population to work as slaves in the West Indian islands. Have these men forgotten that there *are* no slaves, at least in *our* West Indian islands ? These must be old negro-drivers, buried fifty years ago and dug up again. They want to make a St. Domingo of India. They have left no stone unturned, to make British rule impossible. Civil war is bad enough by itself ; but there are two exasperations of which it is capable. One is to make it a religious war, and the other a war of colour ; and both these have been zealously introduced. We are to be overwhelmed with an avalanche of negro-hunters ; we are to resolve ourselves into a committee of Legrees. Is it not time, think you, for what there is of British respectability to rouse itself, and cease to quail as it does, before the new cross-breed of fiend and barbarian which braves us in our newspapers ?

In my next I will go into the other part of the matter ; and no fear that we shall come out with the character of treacherously concealing the truth, or pandering to evil.

Yours, &c.

30 Sept., 1857.



EXAMINATION OF BLUE BOOKS ON INDIA.

XVII.

I PROCEED with the examination commenced in my last. What a blessing are parliamentary papers, and a post to carry them; even though there are many improvements which want making in both.

On the 7th of February, 1857, the Governor-General of India in Council is found writing to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, stating that an uneasiness had manifested itself among the Native soldiery in consequence of a report having reached them that the grease used for preparing the cartridges for the Enfield rifles was composed of the fat of "pigs" and of "cows." And he adds that the men were appeased on being assured that the matter would be duly represented, and that the Governor-General at the suggestion of the Inspector-General of Ordnance had as a present measure authorized the issue of cartridges without grease, the men being permitted to apply with their own hands whatever mixture they may prefer.

Now here is clearly a starting in the way of common sense, exactly like what would have been done at Bradford or any other place where men are content with being what God made them, and do not run mad after making beasts and lions of themselves. There was nothing irrational in the apprehensions of the Native soldiery; though there are men like Punch's cockney, who wonder that people cannot take to pork and beef like Christians. The aversion of the Mahomedans to handle the flesh of swine is at all events of respectable origin, for it is derived from what the religion of Europe considers to have been of divine direction. The Israelite who handled it,—let alone putting it into his mouth,—was to be "unclean until the even" (Lev. xi. 24); and being unclean until the even, is no such pleasant thing, especially if it is to be every evening in the week. What would you and I take, to fancy our hands every day smelling of fat of dog, or horse, or something we had been taught from our youth up to consider as disgusting, to say nothing of being irreligious? The dislike of the Brahmins to the idea of eating beef, is of equal or possibly still greater antiquity. It originated apparently in a desire to encourage the respect for animals assistant to man in raising his food from the earth, and ended in something like worship. The bull *Apis*, and the golden calves to which the Jews carried away from Egypt a propensity, were in all probability offshoots from this prin-

ciple ; and if so, they are older than the Levitical law. What should you and I say, if we had a foreign conqueror who said "Eat horse, or eat dog, or put something into your mouths you have always been taught to cast the gorge at." I return therefore to my position, which is, that the Governor-General of India and his Council began by behaving like men fit to go abroad without keepers, and that this is considerable earnest for their not conducting themselves like idiots or barbarians afterwards.

An early symptom of excitement among the Native soldiery, was that on or about the 26th of March a number of the men of the 63rd Native Infantry declined to take furloughs for visiting their homes. It was clearly traceable to their having heard that other regiments intended to do the same ; and the construction to be put on the whole, is that there was a persuasion of something impending, which made it improper that men should leave their comrades. On being "reasoned with," the men consented to take their furloughs. When the affair was represented to the government as "passive mutiny," the Civil Government declared it to be "accompanied with extenuating circumstances," and limited themselves to an intimation that any who should take a leading part in the like again, "should be summarily dismissed from the service ;" a thing ruinous to the worldly expectations of a sepoy, and which goes to show how easily these men might have been managed if people had gone the way. It is plain the Civil Government showed moderation and caution, and a desire not to blow into a flame without necessity.

The next in order of report, is the trial on the 18th of March and following days, of two Grenadiers of the 2nd Native Infantry, for having quitted their guard and gone to the Mint guard in Calcutta, and there endeavouring to induce the Native Captain commanding the guard, to join "in an intended mutiny or concealed combination against the State." The prisoners were convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment, with hard labour, for the term of fourteen years.

Up to this, there appears no especial ground for regret, except that more active measures were not taken for doing away the apprehensions which, whether with or without cause, had found their way into the soldiers' minds. A soldier is a man, and though he contracts for military service, he does not sell his soul. It remains to be seen whether cause for such apprehensions had been left or not, and whether there was not as much as would have figured in Lord Macaulay's History, if

applied to a regiment of Scotch Presbyterians or Irish Catholics in jealous times.

On the 6th of April a Native General Court Martial is found assembled at Barrackpore for the trial of a private, Mungul Pandey, 34th Regiment of Native Infantry, for mutiny on 29th of March. It was proved that this man, after taking intoxicating drugs, had gone out on the parade ground with a sword and loaded musket, and called on the regiment to join him, and fired at the Adjutant and the Serjeant-Major, shot the Adjutant's horse, and wounded both the Adjutant and Serjeant-Major severely with the sword. The man was sentenced to be hanged; being much the same as would have been done with him by a Court of Assize in England. But things did not stop here. On the 10th of April a Jemadar or Native Lieutenant is brought before the same Court Martial, "for not having used his utmost or any endeavours" to suppress the attempt at mutiny described, he being then in command of the quarter-guard of his regiment. What was proved, was, that some of the men of the quarter-guard came out from the quarter-guard and struck the Adjutant and Serjeant-Major with the butt of their muskets from behind. Under these circumstances, the Native Lieutenant declared that he could not depend upon his guard; and assuredly the circumstances were not promising for his arresting the assailants. For which lack of zeal or courage, it might have been very well to dismiss him the service, which would have been to him a severe punishment. But to sentence the poor man to be hanged (and he was hanged accordingly with great diligence), was evincing the cruelty of fear, and doing the most possible to nurse things into mischief.

And now comes the most extraordinary part of the history. On the 3rd of April, a week before the trial of the unfortunate Jemadar had commenced, and eighteen days before he was "duly hanged by the neck," it appears that "rumours having reached government" at Fort William, which is only fifteen miles from Barrackpore, that the Colonel "commanding the 34th regiment Native Infantry, has of late held language to the men of his regiment, indicating that it was his expectation that they would, sooner or later, be converted to Christianity, and that he has lately addressed them on religious subjects," the Secretary to the Government is "instructed to request that" the Officer commanding the Division in which Barrackpore is situate, "will state, for the information of Government, whether he is cognizant of any reports to the same effect, and whether he has reason to believe that there is any

truth in them." To which that Officer replies by forwarding letters from the Brigadier in particular command at Barrackpore, and from the Colonel of the 34th regiment. The letter from the Brigadier exhibits a friendly desire to put the conduct of the Colonel in a favourable light, and states "the only instance he knew" of what had been said or done in the way supposed. But the answer of the Colonel himself upsets all that can be done for him, and he states in the most open manner "that during the last twenty years and upwards I have been in the habit of speaking to the natives of all classes, sepoy and others, making no distinction, since there is no respect of persons with God, on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazars, and villages (not in the lines and regimental bazars). I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded, by the Scriptures to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his lost fellow-creatures, our Saviour having offered himself up as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, by which alone salvation can be secured. He has directed that this salvation should be freely offered to all, without exception." The Colonel previously denies "having held language to the men of his regiment, indicating that it was his expectation that they would sooner or later be converted to Christianity;" though "to entertain such an expectation on right and solid grounds would afford him the highest gratification."

The Governor-General and his Council are not satisfied with this reply, and direct the Commander of the Division to call on the Colonel "to state whether, in speaking to sepoy on the subject of the Christian religion, he has spoken to any of the sepoy of the 34th regiment, which he commands, as well as to others;" and "whether he intends it to be inferred that he has not spoken to any sepoy upon the subject of the Christian religion except when they have solicited instruction in the truths of that religion; and whether he has or has not volunteered his opinion and advice upon the subject of the Christian religion to any of the sepoy of the 34th Regiment of Native Infantry, either collectively or individually, since that regiment has been under his command, and to other sepoy in the same cantonment, and endeavoured to convert them to Christianity, either by exhorting them to embrace that religion, or by pointing out that their own religion is false, or otherwise; and, if not, what has been the nature of his conversation with the sepoy to whom he has spoken upon the subject of our religion."

To this the regimental commander replies on the 15th of

April (being six days before his Native Lieutenant was executed), that "it has been my invariable plan to act on the broad line which Scripture enforces, that is, to speak without reserve to every person; when I therefore address natives on this subject, whether individually or collectively, it has been no question with me as to whether the person or persons I addressed belong to this or that regiment, or whether he is a shopkeeper, merchant, or otherwise, but speak to all alike, as sinners in the sight of God; and I have no doubt that I have often, in this way, (indeed, am quite certain) addressed sepoys of my own regiment, as also of other regiments at this and other stations where I have been quartered." Follows much more, which I omit, because some of our friends might be hurt if they thought it was quoted in an irreverent spirit. But it may be found in page 167 of Appendix to papers relative to the mutinies in the East Indies (Inclosures in Nos. 7 to 19).

And now I ask whether if a regiment of Scotch Presbyterians were turned over to a Colonel who was perpetually addressing them and other soldiers on the impossibility of salvation out of the Church of Rome, and this in times when there was a suspicion abroad, right or wrong, that the government had plans for conversion as under the second James,—or if parallel circumstances existed in a regiment of Irish Catholics under a Colonel of Cromwell's model,—the crime of creating insubordination would not lie at the Colonel's door? How such a man could go about to hang his men and officers, acting as prosecutor against them, and all with the name of Christ upon his tongue,—is one of those strange specimens of human action, which ought to be preserved like some monstrosity in spirits in a Museum of Anatomy.

Yours, &c.,

7 Oct., 1857.



FURTHER EXAMINATION OF BLUE BOOKS ON INDIA.

XVIII.

AND now comes the next step in the mischief; a stride which a small exertion of benevolence and cool worldly sense might have hindered, and which there is little doubt would have been hindered, if the decisive moment had been under the control of civil wisdom instead of military rashness.

The first notice of it in the Parliamentary Publication I am following, (Appendix to Papers relative to the Mutinies

in the East Indies, inclosures in Nos. 7 to 19, page 173) runs as follows :—

"It seems that some eighty-five men of the 3rd Light Cavalry, who had been tried by court-martial, for refusing to use their cartridges—the old ones—as none of the new kind had been issued, were sentenced to imprisonment, and sent to jail on the 9th of May. On the 10th, the troopers of the regiment broke into the jail and released these men."

Will not your readers suppose, that the men were sent to the guardhouse, or what the French call the *salle de discipline*, for four-and-twenty hours? See then with what caution everything coming from a hostile quarter should be received. The facts, partly gathered from public accounts, and partly as stated in the House of Commons by a highly honourable officer in the Company's service and a Director of the East India Company, were these :—The troopers of the 3rd Cavalry, respectable men among their countrymen, and in fact a sort of small gentlemen, declared in the most respectful manner to their Christian commanders, that the cartridges furnished to them were not such as they could handle without incurring among their countrymen the suspicion of loss of caste. Weeks before this, the Civil Government had issued its direction that the Native soldiery should take the construction of the cartridges into their own hands. Nothing was required but to refer the men to the order of the Government, and say let that be done. But this the military authority present had not the genius to attend to. On endeavouring to force the reception, eighty-five troopers of the regiment declared they could not take the cartridges. One account is, that the second officer of the regiment, who happened to be in command at the time, acted like a faithful and sensible man, and said "Then take the cartridges away;" and the first in command came back and said, "If you do this, the men will think you are afraid of them," and ordered these eighty-five conscientious soldiers, acting on every principle which distinguishes a soldier from a brute and a slave, to be brought to a court-martial. The men, as I heard stated in the House of Commons by the honourable Indian commander referred to, held up their hands to their officers and said, "We will go anywhere, we will follow you anywhere, only do not force us to do what will disgrace us in the eyes of our friends and countrymen." And these men were brought to a court-martial, and condemned—to what do you think lies underneath the description of "being sentenced to imprisonment and sent to jail?" They were sentenced to *ten years imprisonment in irons with hard*

labour, and the irons were immediately riveted on them on parade by the armourers of the European artillery. A few, for reasons not given, are stated to have been sentenced for shorter terms; and five are said to have flinched, and been content to damn their souls to save their bodies.

The consequence of this was, that "On the 10th, the troopers of the regiment broke into the jail, and released these men." There is no use in theorizing about how far it was militarily wrong that soldiers should consider the contract with them broken and scattered to the winds under such circumstances. The question for sensible men is whether what was done was not the direct and likely road to produce what followed. Is there an officer in Europe foolish enough to try it on a European regiment? The compact with the men who enlisted in the Indian Native army, that they should not be molested in their religion or be "compelled to taste swine's flesh" like the martyrs under Antiochus, was as distinct without specification in writing, as with English recruits that they shall not be subjected to the operations applied to cavalry horses with a view to increase their docility. Tell a Scotch or Irish regiment they are to be circumcised, and see what the consequences would be. Or to make the thing more feasible, fancy the Sultan having Christian regiments, and making the like announcement to them of his will. The thing required of the Indian soldier, conveyed the same mixture of ridicule and oppression. He was insulted as a man, and as a soldier; for to submit to it, was known to be an indignity in the eyes of his countrymen and friends, in comparison of which praying that every commissioned and non-commissioned officer might spit on him that he might clean it with his tongue, would have been a trifle. Is a soldier when he enlists, to lay down every feeling of a religionist, a patriot, and a gentleman? Is this to be the theory set on foot, of which we are all in turn to have the benefit? There is in this what must be looked to, and what *will* be looked to, whenever it shall please the Ruler of all things to take away from the nation the heart of a beast, and give it the heart of a man.

But the military authorities say, there was nothing objectionable in the cartridges. With all deference where due, this is not the question. The question is whether the directions of the Civil government had been complied with, that the soldiers should see to the construction of them themselves. If *you* were offered pies from the pastry-cook's, which the world around was crying out to you were suspected of being

made of kittens,—would it be an unreasonable request that you should, in the words of our great novelist, be “acquainted with the lady that made them?” And if your countrymen were waiting to follow you in the streets with the cry of “There goes a man that ate kittens,”—and you were to be ever after expelled from society and doomed to eat kittens in a corner by yourself,—you would perceive that it was no joke, particularly if the Civil government had previously passed a resolution, that you were not to eat kittens, and that you were to have every chance of informing yourself before you partook of the loathed ingredient. So easy is it to settle these things when men are to take care of themselves, or when there is goodwill on the part of those who should take care of them.

No man in his senses would try the experiment on a European regiment with kittens. But see how vastly more serious was the case of the unfortunate Hindoos. “Exclusion or expulsion from caste is the greatest evil which can befall a Hindoo. It is a civil excommunication of a dreadful character. The expelled man is considered as civilly and socially dead. His friends and relatives cast him off and shun his company; and often his wife and children will leave him. No one may eat with him, or give him bread and water. His sons cannot get wives, nor his daughters husbands. He can hold or inherit no property; and if he dies under this anathema, his friends will let his body rot on the ground, rather than bury it.” (*From the Patriot.*) And it was for remonstrating against being exposed to this in defiance of their military engagement and the orders of the Civil government, that eighty-five good and honourable soldiers were sentenced by military ignorance to imprisonment with hard labour in irons for a term approaching to their natural lives.

The truth is, the military authorities were disinclined to support the common sense directions of the Civil government. If there had been question of a belt not cleaned, or a line not exactly formed upon parade, they would have been all alive to the importance of the crisis. But when the matter in hand was the destruction of eighty-five troopers in a regiment, and, as it turned out, the loss of an Empire,—for come what may, India can no more be restored to its original state than the egg which in the child’s riddle “All the king’s horses and all the king’s men, could never put together again,”—when this hung in the balance, there was nothing to be done but rush into the mischief, in defiance of the Civil government, and on the principle of fearing to be thought afraid.

As admitted by the honourable and well-informed officer

formerly referred to, in a correspondence in the press, this was the turning point. It was the declaration of war on the part of the Christian commanders against the Native Army, and replied to by the Native Army when they had no alternative but dishonour and personal degradation in view. The world has seen nothing like such a reckless breach of military faith on the part of the commanders of an army, either Christian or Pagan. Cyrus and Alexander were soldiers and statesmen ; and Cyrus and Alexander would have seen the ghosts of their fathers rising to remonstrate, if they had conceived such a plan as setting the army of their hereditary dominions to enforce the greasing of the army of their new. But Cyrus and Alexander had no negro-hunters in their followings.

Piecemeal the eyes of England and perhaps of Europe will be opened, and the crimes of the French Revolution will dwindle in comparison of what England has spread before the throne of heaven by a Fast-Day. No combination of ink and paper in France, ever showed men boasting of "hanging them like fun," and priests and people, gentle and simple, cheering in their train. The people of France never presented themselves before the Almighty as myriads did here, with red hands, and what they in their hearts meant for a prayer for a blessing on the guillotine. *Quis lavabit istam lavationem?* What shall atone for such a penitence?

Yours, &c.

14 October, 1857.



PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS ON INDIA (CONTINUED).

XIX.

A REMARK worthy the attention of the historian of these sad times, is that the Courts Martial by which these unhappy soldiers were with so little discrimination sentenced to death or punishments almost equivalent, were *Native* courts martial ; that is to say, were composed entirely of men who if they had attempted to state the case for any of the prisoners, would have had before them the prospect of loss of rank, pay, and pension, if not of being ultimately blown from a gun, as is the favourite recipe for all difficulties in India.

This is not meant to pass as vague intimation or surmise. Put the supposition that these Native Officers had said, "The men of the 3rd Cavalry wanted nothing but the reasonable means of knowing, as the Civil government had directed, that they were not to be subjected to dishonour or the suspicion

of it. The question is not whether your European chemists declare they discover prohibited fat in the cartridges ; the question was whether means had been taken, as the Civil government desired, to make it impossible for the thing to be suspected. There was a ready way to this, and the Civil government had directed it ; which was, to let the men make up the cartridges themselves, or under the inspection of individuals of their own creed. An interference with Mohammedan or Hindoo law, or any allowed suspicion of it, is as much contrary to the compact under which these men were enlisted, as if you were to propose to treat them as we hear you treat your cavalry horses in your own country, or as if such of us as are Mohammedans should insist on you European officers being subjected to the ancient and venerable rite of circumcision." Fancy the Native officers had said this, and say what chance there would have been for its being attended to. It is an awful thing to be a conquered people, and have to submit to the caprices of a conqueror. There is only one thing more awful,—and that is the retribution which God, if there is one, and many think there is, may, in his unlimited command over natural events, bring down upon the tyranny. How many years "eating grass as an ox," would be just penance for the stupidity, unapproached in the history of nations, of setting one third of an army to massacre the other two, on a quarrel about hog's lard ?

As stated by the officer before referred to, the liberation of the eighty-five troopers of Meerut by their comrades, was the signal for general outburst. One remarkable fact presents itself. They liberated not only their eighty-five comrades, but "all the prisoners, 1200 in number." What manner of government is it, that has 1200 prisoners in one jail ? This is not a government, but a foreign enemy. Liberators and liberated started for Delhi ; about thirty miles distant. On their arrival, they were joined by the Native troops there, and the whole proceeded to take possession of the magazines. An officer waited till, as some accounts say, two thousand were collected on or about a powder-magazine, and then blew them into the air. It is not intended to debate whether this, taken by itself, was what the world considers lawful war. But what it is intended to maintain, is that the most ferocious soldiers in European history, Alva or Tilly, if they had known that numbers of their own party were in the power of the enemy, would have hesitated before they followed such a course, and if they *did* follow it, would not disguise that they did it with the full knowledge of what would be the consequence. Official

documents state that the sepoy entered Delhi at 7 or 8 o'clock on the morning of the 11th [May 1857], and the magazine was blown up shortly after 3 p.m. in the afternoon of the same day, possession having been previously demanded in the name of the King of Delhi, to which no answer was returned: (*Times* of 16 October, and Letter of Major Abbott to Adjutant General, 13 May, 1857, in "Further Papers," p. 10.) And it was on the 13th that the Europeans "were discovered in their hiding-places and massacred" (*Times*, 14 July). Which shows that their death was subsequent to the blowing-up of the magazine. Under such circumstances, nobody can doubt the fact, that neither king of Delhi nor of anywhere else, could hinder what followed. There is no sense in doing what is sure to be followed by horrible results, and then treating the results as if they grew out of the earth. That the Europeans in Delhi were put to death, there can unhappily be no doubt. But of everything else attached to the history, there is the greatest and most reasonable doubt. Just as fast as anything of this kind is brought to the test of examination, it fails. The stories, except the killing, were manifestly made up for the English market. There was an Irish lady, of surpassing beauty, who, after sufferings of other kinds which are ingeniously described as indescribable, like the legendary Isaiah was sawn asunder. The next thing that appears, is a statement from her relatives that she died some years ago. There was an officer who shot his wife and child. A stock story in India, to be produced on all occasions. Nigh forty years ago, *it was told of me*. There is something immeasurably undignified in a nation thus running greedily after falsehood, where, heaven knows, there is enough of truth to satisfy the most vigorous appetite.

And here all friends are prayed to be on their guard against the pill of fraud prepared to be pushed down their throats if they will let it, which tells them that the alarm to the religion of the Native Army was the pretence and not the cause. An invention of the enemy to conceal the real authors. There were other causes co-operating, as there are always; but none competent to have produced the union displayed. There were, no doubt, heart-burnings of various kinds, as there would have been in an army raised in England a twelvemonth after the reigning family had been carried off by filibusters on the ground that they could make a better use of the revenues of the country. But there was not political feeling and combination enough in the habits of the people, to make this act with the force of an electric shock. Every little sepoy in the

land was not likely to rise up with one consent, to avenge the wrongs of the King of Oude, or of a dozen other Native sovereigns on some or other of whom his affections had been at some time placed. To make every little sepoy do this, there must be something that touched him in his personalities and in his hopes for this world and the next. There was but one thing which could do this, and that was to require of him to "taste swine's flesh." It was, as stated before, the same kind of thing as if it was announced to an English, Scotch, or Irish regiment, that they were all to go through the hands of the veterinary surgeon, and come out opera-singers. Here was exactly the same mixture of ridicule, cruelty, and contempt for all implied capitulations with the soldier. Calculate the consequences if this were done, and foreign regiments with cannon brought on the two flanks of the unhappy sufferers. Suppose, for instance, the men of kilts receiving an announcement that this was to be done to them, and that they were to be fired upon immediately if they did not set their hands to an engagement to submit to the operation quietly. According to their different temperaments, some would rush to their ammunition, some would open fire then and there, some would start off for the hills as fast as their feet could carry them. To be in a kilt is to be cut down, or if taken alive, blown from a gun. There would be witnessed precisely the scenes which may be found in any Indian report, where men not fit by sense and policy to conduct a corporal's guard, chose to do the same kind of thing in confidence in the brutal feeling by which they calculated, and correctly, on being supported at home.

One more instance, though they are legion, of the way in which willing dupes gulp down everything thrown before them. These same soldiers, they are told, when pressed by necessity, used the rejected cartridges; thus, says this collected wisdom, clearly proving that they never had any objection to them at all. Does nothing like it start to the memory of biblical students,—as, for instance, how the Jews, when persecuted on almost verbally the same grounds, refused to fight upon their Sabbath, but afterwards, seeing the necessity of the case, "One of them said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth. At that time, therefore, they decreed, saying, whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the Sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, as our brethren that were murdered in secret places."

There are two sets of people in the earth ;—those who have eyes for the lessons of experience, which is history, sacred and profane ;—and those who have no eyes for anything but their own low personal interests, and think, like the caterpillars, that sun, moon, and stars were made only to guide them to their cabbage-leaf.

After the movement on Delhi, brought on by the Military authorities in defiance of the wishes of the Civil, all is horror and shame. Kirk and Claverhouse are made into respectable Christians by comparison. No stone appears to have been left unturned, to impress on the natives of India at large, the desirableness of dying in the last ditch rather than be subjected to the tender mercies of the Christian "fiends,"—it was the name of their own choosing,—who were let loose upon them. No cruelty or insult to the Native soldiery was omitted which could send a hundred thousand burning missionaries to propagate hatred of the English name throughout half the population of the globe. All the stories of Pagan and Mediæval atrocity the annals of war present, were thrown into the shade. There is one story, which caps all the records religious war, or any other war, can produce* ; it blackens the face of England for all time. Peculiar care was taken, that no opportunity should be omitted of showing that the war was against the religion and the respectability of Oriental life. On what military principle was all this done ? I ask as one not unacquainted with military causes and effects ; and I hope to find somebody to aid in obtaining a reply.

Yours, &c.

21 October, 1857.



CHINA AND INDIA, CONTINUED.—THE CANTON FELONY.

XX.

WHEN a nation in its pride and madness has thrown away an Empire, finer than the rest of the world's history can produce,—for I adhere to the assertion that, happen what may, nothing can restore the thing as it was before,—a natural course with the few who retain their wits, is to combat the notion put forth by our rulers, that the last thing we ought to do, is to ask how these horrors came to pass, and who brought them on.

See what is reported as said by one of England's statesmen, and loudly cheered by his audience. I admit that there may be inaccuracies, or points the speaker might be able to explain

away; and it is not at all my desire to put myself in a hostile attitude with men of mark. But thus it stands, and I take the liberty to comment on it.

"When there is a fire raging, it does not become us to ask what are the causes of that fire; our first duty as men is to extinguish it." (Loud cheers.)

Suppose that at Saltaire the right wing was in a blaze, the other showed flames in half-a-dozen places, and the centre sent out puffs of smoke here and there. What would Bradford think of the town-councillor who should stand up and say, "It does not become us to ask what are the causes of that fire." I am quite sure that Working-Class common sense would put him down, with a general cry of "The thing which of all others it becomes us to ask and know, is what are the causes of that fire. Are some of the managers gone mad, and running about at this minute, after firing the right wing and the left, doing their best to fire the centre also? If so, let us have them out, and sent to the County asylum. Or may there be some cause for spontaneous combustion, some acid used in the works which is taking fire whenever it comes into contact with something else?" These are among the first questions which men fit to walk the streets without their nurses would ask, and the man who said the contrary would be shrewdly surmised to have some feeling of dislike to the authors of the mischief being brought to account.

And here we come upon something very like the mainspring of the evil. It lies in the principle laid down from age to age, that nobody shall do wrong, or that any who do it shall be supported with the whole strength of the government and the well-dressed mob which is at its heels. The principle is defended for the men of yesterday, because it is intended to be used for the men of to-morrow. Your millions and your children, and the character of your country among foreign nations and in history, are to be at the command of every wrong-doer, and the question is only to be, how he shall be supported at your expense. It is an evil which, by dint of enduring from day to day, has become what medical men call chronic. It is part and parcel of the British constitution as it practically stands, that every ill deed shall be defended by those who hope for similar consideration for the future exigencies of their character.

See by what steps it was that Britain resolutely lost an Empire. A profligate official at Canton, receiving a high salary for superintending the country's commerce, conceived the idea of making a fortune for himself or family, by stopping

all lawful commerce, and making a piratical massacre with a view to enforcing the smuggling of opium. He says he only massacred 26 outright; will a man hold up his hand at York Assizes, and plead that he only massacred 26? It was calculated that the Chinese were defenceless, and that the felony would be as easily carried through, as in the cases where a poor man or woman is found with pockets turned inside out, and twenty-six infractions of the pericranium. But see how curiously crime and punishment are connected in the course of natural events. It is the portion of that great man Bentham's system, which wise men should never lose an opportunity of elucidating. We do not stand upon Providential interferences; Providence has done its work once for all, by the institution of natural causes. When a drunkard has a red nose, it is not a judgment, but an established connexion between cause and effect. *All* drunkards have not red noses; and the individual drunkard hopes he shall be the one that escapes. But still it is written in heaven, that in three cases out of four, drunkards shall have red noses. The certainty of red noses to three out of four, is nature's canon against hard drinking; and if the Edinburgh Reviewers, as they did to their hurt in 1829, choose to ask what reason the Greatest Happiness Principle can offer why a man should not get drunk if he likes it, it is "Ware the red nose!" It is true we cannot tell you positively whether your nose shall be red, any more than we can tell a given felon whether he shall be the one that escapes hanging. But this we can tell, that if it is three to one in favour of hanging or a red nose, he is a fool who takes the chance, and therefore wise men avoid.

In this way the Canton felony was brought to a stand. The Chinese proved much more defensible than the cut-throats calculated on. But there was worse than this. Flax was smoking in India, which this spark fell upon, and helped, with many other sparks, to raise into a flame. So true it is, that the man, whether official or in private life, who once steps into the paths of murder and piracy, never knows where the righteous judgment of nature and nature's God, shall pull him up and make a scarecrow of him.

And what took place at home? The national conscience as embodied in the representatives elected in impartial times, condemned the act by a majority, as one of atrocious wickedness. So far, is written down in Heaven's chancery, and neither good nor evil angel will blot it out. But a ministry, possibly enough the prompters of the deed from the beginning, took advantage of a power which, if Englishmen were wise, no

minister would ever have again, and called a new parliament, with the avowed purpose of appealing to the worst passions of the people, stimulated by such a flood of falsehoods showered on the elections, as stands unparalleled in the history of popular government. The people of England, with few exceptions, of which you and yours made one, put off their manhood, and at the invitation of the minister, declared themselves "British lions," an ill-favoured brute, fit only to lap the blood of the defenceless, and to be laid by the arm of the first that in one way or other is the stronger. The people of England in almost one breath cried out "On us and on our children be it;" and on them and their children it has come, in the shape of this Indian disgrace and misery. I saw yesterday in the street a boy selling a broadside headed "God's Judgment upon Murder." I did not see whether it was in allusion to the events at Canton.

Next after asserting that the most improper of all things is to inquire how the mischief was brought about, comes the assertion of the government, reiterated over and over, that the danger is purely one of military revolt, and the population of India are not engaged in it. The Member for Sheffield was like to have his nose bitten off, for asserting that there was danger at all; and anybody who asserted that the population of India were engaged, would probably be in equal peril. See we then, how much the government organs know about the matter, and at the very time they are assuring us the population are neutral, see what are the pains taken by the actors abroad, to secure from the population the greatest possible quantity of hostility. This country is like a blind horse which everybody is trying to push into a ditch; but with this difference, that the horse does not say "I am blind and love to be blind; if I have any chance of an eye left, put it out; the ditch is where I want to be, and I am greedy to follow anybody who will take me there."

Put the case that a hundred years after the Norman Conquest, Richard at Ascalon had got up a quarrel about hog's lard, and had thereupon set his bow-men of Norman race to fall upon his bill-men of Saxon, and hunt them through hill and dale, hanging the wounded as he caught them, and in all other ways making himself into an avowed "fiend." And imagine the same system extended to England, and see whether the steps taken would rouse the population or not. Imagine a Norman officer in command of a Saxon regiment, hanging his prisoners with literally his own hands* ;—"I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes,

and saw them looped to run easy ;"—"I took on my own shoulders the responsibility of hanging them first, and asking leave to do so afterwards ;" (thus cutting off the superior authorities from the chance to interfere) ;—"One of the prisoners was of very high caste and influence, and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy, by getting the lowest caste man to hang him." Goes on with further details of how this officer exerted himself in the business of executioner, and gave his personal exertions in aid. Would Cœur de Lion's ministers stand up, and say the population was not to be engaged ?

Fancy England deluged with accounts, in such modes of publicity as then existed, of zealous Norman squires rushing forth with double cross-bows if such things were, and bringing down Saxon villagers "right and left," upon the evidence of their being flat-featured or red-haired, and all to satisfy the enormous zeal for vengeance in the individual Norman mind. Raise no question whether all this would be asked a blessing on by Norman bishops ; inquire simply whether the English population would have thought itself engaged or not.

Conceive other enthusiastic personages of the same kind, boasting how they had hung the wounded Saxons who fell into their hands, on the trees on the sides of the road, in imitation of the Romans who crucified their revolted slaves in rows on the two sides of the Via Appia, or Sacra, or whatever else it was. And others glorying in having hung rich Saxon merchants, worth the equivalent to £240,000. Imagine your news-letters, manuscript perchance, bringing word of the hanging of Mr. Salt, and Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Rothschild ; and all because Richard had chosen to apply hog's lard to his bill-men at Ascalon. Stop not to ask what quantum of ridicule would attach to the whole, nor how the condemned in the realms below would ask for an hour's holiday to laugh. It is the thing that is. It is where we are. And the question here raised, is whether any government in Richard's time would have been so blind to its own character for sense, as to say the population was not raised.

Whence came this strange escape of devilry ; is Satan's boiler cracked, and letting the vapours through ? A twelve-month ago, and Englishmen were Christians, men, something like the Almighty's gentlemen. A red coat marked a soldier, not an executioner. Our young men are invited, in almost distinct terms, to enlist into the "Fiends," or into "Calcraft's Own ;" and then respectable youths of the commercial classes are insulted because they do not enlist. I note, for the benefit

'of all the military in Europe,—a fierce brotherhood who have a good deal of common stock,—that for the first time in military history a corps was proposed to be raised, armed with a special weapon for forestalling the office of the hangman. There was a time, when in the midst of high religious fury, a French and Catholic officer replied to an invitation from his sovereign, "Your Majesty has here loyal subjects, brave soldiers, *but not one executioner.*" That breed of men is gone, and we are hangmen all. Let us hope, for their own comfort, those gallant souls will keep their heaven for themselves.

But there is a clue; the crack in the boiler may be traced. It takes some courage to push through the atmosphere of willing *gobe-mouches* and eager accomplices; but it must be done. When a pickpocket's fingers stiffen with age, or a burglar finds his nerves failing him for encountering the mastiff in the passage, he takes to a particular line of business, which is that of accusing of unmentionable crimes. This is the "dodge," if it may be permitted to introduce a term a great writer has made almost classical, played off upon the thirsty dupes in London and the provinces. When a popular preacher says "he should be hissed if he entered into description," this is what he means. Congreve rockets and Enfield rifles have been superseded by a newer invention for annoyance of an enemy; and priest and noble, press and platform, run hotly in its train. Where everything is concealment except what favours one side, certainty is not to be expected. But any man who by battling with the world has attained to a portion of what the Scottish novelist makes somebody oddly call "the eye in the back of his neck," may have the strongest conviction the case is capable of, that the assertions of this and kindred nature are volunteer falsehoods, intended to act in England. Foreigners will call it the new English weapon. Wherever the evidence is closely tested, there is either none, or it is the other way. Some crafty native has speculated on being paid according to the piquancy of his reports, and so his morbid imagination has been let loose. That Europeans without distinction were often slaughtered, is beyond dispute; and is what would have taken place under similar circumstances in any of the wars of Europe, if the same means had been used to court it. But the initiative was with the Europeans. They began by scandalous breach of faith with the Native army, and followed it up by such insane cruelty as eclipses all in the world's history. Alva or Tilly might have thought of such a thing; but they would

not have grumbled at the consequences they must have counted on, and least of all would they have got up the worn-out burglar's charge against their adversaries.

I said the evidence, when pushed, was nothing, or the other way. The only case in which any tangible testimony is produced, is that of a native servant escaped from Cawnpore, who when asked a pointed question with reference to the women sufferers, says "No, unless it was in one particular case." And then he relates a story, a sort of parody on the apocryphal history of Judith, of which he does not profess to have the slightest personal knowledge, and which any Grand Jury would turn out of court without five minutes' deliberation. A lady was taken by a man of rank to his house, and lodged with his wife and children; a strange preparation for violation in any country. And in the night she cut off the man and wife and children's heads, and threw herself into a well. Any jury would say it was much more likely the man put her with his wife and children with a view to save her than to injure her, and if there was any truth in the remainder of the story, (for which, observe, there is not a tittle of evidence,) the poor girl's head was turned, as well it might be, with terror. And these are the sort of grounds on which a stratagem against an enemy, certainly not in Frontinus or any author ancient or modern on the art of war, is cheered and followed by men who dream to pass as sensible and fit for office in either earth or heaven. None as a body have shown common sense or caution except the Working Classes. Will they not stick to it, and look to get all their just complaints redressed as the wheel comes round?

Yours, &c.

28 Oct., 1857.



INDIA, CONTINUED.—EVIDENCE OF "INDOPHILUS."

XXI.

I LOOK round for support for the statements in your paper, and it is found in the columns of the *Times*. A writer under the signature of "Indophilus" (*Times*, 23 Oct.), evidently an old resident in India, describes the religious peculiarities of the natives (borrowed to a great extent from what the people calling themselves Christians account holy writ), and gives some instances of the extent to which European governors and individuals of mark, acting like sensible and sensitive men, conformed to the feelings of those around them. Indeed

it is no such pleasant thing, to know that the people about you, your own servants and officers, conceive you to be in the habit of doing something they have been taught from their infancy to be filthy or degrading. Fancy a Secretary at the Horse Guards being known to eat dog ; or a Speaker of the House of Commons to indulge in potations of "blue ruin." Would it increase the efficiency of those functionaries with the public? Myself can give evidence to the effects of very moderate conformity. I travelled with my family in Arab vessels, by what was nevertheless called the Overland route, from Bombay to Alexandria, at a time when my wife was the second European woman who had gone that way, Lady Nightingall being the first ; and I discovered that we were handed from one to another through the whole journey, by a kind of underground telegraph, with the character of "He's *tayyib* [good], he neither drinks wine nor eats swine." The Arab mercenaries at the barrier of Mocha insisted on introducing me to the hospitalities of their guard-room ; and the American negro renegade at Jidda said "I do believe, Sir, they would let *you*,—go out at the Mecca gate !" Surely a moderately good-natured man would be better and not worse, for finding himself the object of such a feeling.

And the dislike to hog's flesh is not confined to Orientals. Some of our own countrymen have it, manifestly derived from the Levitical law. I remember in India hearing a man now of great standing, a native I believe of the Isle of Skye, reply with profound seriousness to a request that he would take a piece of ham, "I never ate swine's flesh." Will you try Sir John for mutiny, if he objects to coming into contact with hog's lard ?

"Indophilus" says, "The feeling was respected and almost shared by the Anglo-Indians. Lord Metcalfe never allowed ham at his table ; and I have seen a large company of English, refuse, under the influence of this feeling, to partake of a dish of wild boar's flesh dressed in a peculiar manner which had been sent to them as an act of courtesy by a Rajpoot Chief through whose district they were travelling. To bite a cartridge greased with cow's and pig's fat was, therefore, more to Hindoos and Indian Mohammedans than eating pork to a Jew, *spitting on the Host to a Roman Catholic, or trampling on the Cross to a Protestant.*"

Here then we will take a text. Firstly, is it allowable that a government should enlist soldiers not of the religion professed by the rulers ? Is it right that a government nominally Christian should raise Mohammedan troops out of the inha-

bitants of a Mohammedan country ;—or that a government where the sovereign is by law obliged to be a Protestant, should raise regiments of Irish or Maltese Catholics, or admit Catholics into its regiments ? If it does, may it promise to such soldiers non-interference with their religion, for it is certain they will not enlist without expecting it ;—and if it so promises, is it bound to keep ? Or may the Protestant officer at any time say to the Mohammedan private, “ I command you by virtue of your military obedience to handle pig,”—or to the Catholic, “ to void your rheum upon the Host ” ? If the last has not been said, it *will* be said, when anybody is inconvenienced by it ; unless the difference can be pointed out, between it and what has already occurred.

It may be said perhaps, that the soldier is not the judge ; he may be only *a little* greased, or the spitting on the Host may not be exacted in its grossest form. When he enlisted, it may be said, he sold his soul to his officer in these matters, and the officer must determine ;—it is a nice question of military law, and the fitting parties must decide.

I should like to have seen a military officer present himself with a casuistic difficulty of this kind, to any of the great masters of war, to Frederick or Napoleon. It would have been pleasant to hear how quick the answer would have been, “ It may be a difficulty, Sir, but if *you* raise it, your head shall answer for it.” Such difficulties do not occur, where wise men rule ; they occur only where men are not wise, or where the wise are over-ridden.

But, it will be said, the thing was imaginary ; it was not true. Suppose then this was so. Suppose the Catholic soldier was possessed with a notion, unfounded it may be, that the articles served out to him had been soaked in a lixivium of the bones of deceased Orangemen, and Kathleen from the beloved morass was writing by every post, to say His Reverence said if Patrick took them, his name should be read out from the altar. Would it be the part of sane men, of gentlemen, of people an inch removed in intellect above the ill-favoured wild-beast the English populace have taken for their prototype and exemplar,—to sentence Patrick to ten years' hard labour in irons for the respectful declaration of his honest scruples, and prayer to have the advantage of the order of the Civil government, that he might make up the articles himself ? Is there a man mad enough, ignorant enough, bad soldier enough, to think of such a thing ; and yet the men were found to do it.

The question grows on hand. Like the classical personifi-

cation of "rumour," it begins in lowliness, but the tendency of its head is to reach the clouds. What are the limits of the command of the officer over the soldier? It is a high military problem; and the man who is afraid of it, is not what our fathers were. Was it or ought it to have been within the limits of military obedience in the days which preceded the establishment of the present family on the throne, that if a Catholic officer said to his Protestant soldier, Do or submit to something which your friends and comrades think implies reconciliation with Rome, the soldier must comply? Was the soldier, for instance, to stop his honest throat by word of command, at the acquittal of the Bishops? Our ancestors gave the answer; and curses both loud and deep will follow the man or men, who in the fatness of their heart and grossness of their unpurged understanding, chose to set the question on its legs again by taking it out of the hands of wiser men who would have kept it down.

All this will be bitter subject for reflection, when Philip drunk is succeeded by Philip sober, and sufferings of which the shadows are already cast before, have changed the fever of intoxication into the prayer for soda-water and wet towel. Other nations have had their contests for empire. Russia, Austria, and Turkey have each had their wars with resisting populations. But Russia, Austria, and Turkey did not there-upon go mad, and call on earth and heaven to witness that they threw off human sense and prayed for horns and tail to play the devil in. They did not rave, and storm, and bluster, and propose exterminating a Polish or Italian or Morean nation, with an alternative for a few in the shape of a colonial slave-ground. They did not avow, that they would govern by the basest elements they could discover or import, and blow a trumpet to induce every Pole, Italian, or Greek, to prolong the desperation of his defence. They went about their bad business, at least like men of sense; and did not "get drunk with blood to vomit crime," as was done with a whoop and a holla, by almost the totality of moral, sermonizing England. If Russian, Austrian, or Turk had been found masquerading in such a guise, England would have been covered with Polish, Italian, and Greek Committees, with no end of lectures on the impropriety of burning capitals, and particularly of hanging Polish wounded, or torturing Greek or Italian prisoners till they consented to damn their souls. And upon what ground are the English to assume that their proceedings will not be viewed elsewhere with as much severity? Is there nobody disposed to regard their

doings in a hostile light ? In the language of old times, there are those that hate, and there are those that fear. Suspect the smoothness of foreigners. They say very civilly just now, that " England will not interfere in the coming discussions on the Continent." Anybody who knows anything, knows what that means. There may be a next chapter and a next, winding up with what, to talk about would be charged as invitation. We must not look backward, and we must not look forward. We must shut our eyes and see what luck will send us.

Sad is the fate of the nation, which leaves its affairs to be settled by heads fit only by education and habit to lead a charge or compose a newspaper article, and allows the rule to be taken out of the hands of men of civil wisdom and deliberate study of the springs which finally move human affairs. The Civil Governor does not know, and the Head of the Law does not know ; the private soldier knows, and the editor in London knows, who ought to live, and who ought to die, and who ought to be made up for perdition in the next world, by the application of torture in this.

It is an old struggle ; and those who call for the government of the soldier, will have enough of it. Will not all this in one way or other be brought here ? Are none of these men to come back upon us ? If such passions should get head at home, cannot we almost point to the tree the wounded man will be hanged upon, and the place where the triangle may be set up to torture him into previous repudiation of his hopes of heaven ? What a gulf do men open, when they lay aside the faculties God gave them, and glory in playing, like bad mummers, the parts of wild-beast and of fiend !

Yours, &c.

4 Nov. 1857.

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INDIA, CONTINUED.

XXII.

It is good to gather from all quarters the facts that are allowed to come before us, and see with what a resolute ingenuity they are tortured into the service of the enemy.

The last number (216) of the *Edinburgh Review* contains an account of the natives of India, civil and military, written evidently by an eye-witness, and what all who have seen India will readily confirm.

"For a century we had trusted our helpless little ones, without a

misgiving, to the guardianship and protection of these very people. Many an English lady travelled from one end of the country to the other—along desert roads, through thick jungles, or on vast solitary rivers,—miles and miles away from the companionship of white men,—without the slightest anxiety. Her native servants, Mohammedans and Hindoos, were her protectors ; and she was as safe in such custody as in an English home. Not a word or a gesture ever alarmed her modesty or excited her fear. The dark, bearded men, who surrounded her, treated her with the most delicate respect, and bore about with them a chivalrous sense of the sacredness of their charge. Many a fond husband and father has entrusted to such guardianship all that was dear to him in the world, and felt as much security as if he had consigned his treasures to the care of his nearest kindred."

"And even stranger than this new horror of the pollution of our wives and daughters" [Remember that to that, the evidence, so far as it has been got at, says *No*,] was the butchery of the little children. Few of our countrymen have ever returned from India without deploring the loss of their native servants. In the nursery they are, perhaps, more missed than in any part of the establishment. There are, doubtless, hundreds of English parents in this country who remember with feelings of kindness and gratitude the nursery bearers or male nurses, who attended their children. The patience, the gentleness, the tenderness with which these white-robed, swarthy Indians attend the little children of their European masters, surpass even the love of women. You may see them sitting for hour after hour, with their little infantine charges, amusing them with toys, fanning them when they slumber, brushing away the flies, or pacing the verandah (shaded balcony,) with the little ones in their arms, droning the low monotonous lullaby which charms them to sleep. And all this without a shadow on the brow, without a gesture of impatience, without a single petulant word. No matter how peevish, how wayward, how unreasonable, how exacting the child may be, the native bearer only smiles, shows his white teeth, or shakes his black locks, giving back a word of endearment in reply to young master's imperious discontent. In the sick room, doubly gentle and doubly patient, his noiseless ministrations are continued through long days, often through long nights, as though hunger and weariness were human frailties to be cast off at such a time. It is little to say that these poor hirelings often love their master's children with greater tenderness than their own. Parted from their little charges, they may often be seen weeping like children themselves ; and have been known, in after years, to travel hundreds of miles to see the brave young ensign or the blooming maiden whom they once dandled in their arms."

"These men, it is true, are not sepoys ; and it would seem that the instances are few in which the native servant, Hindoo or Mussulman, has turned against his European master. But the sepoy has ever shown the same kindness towards the children of his English officer. He

appeared to rejoice when a man child was born to his captain, and to share the pride engendered by the event. Who has not seen the orderly in the verandah playing with the children of his officer, and endeavouring to attract their innocent caresses? Who would not have confided his wife and children to the care of such men? Who did not feel security doubly secure if a sepoy escort attended an English lady on her journey, or a sepoy guard were posted at the door? They who knew the sepoys best, trusted them most. If any Englishman of long experience with a native regiment had a year ago been asked, if he believed that under any circumstances, the sepoy would outrage and murder the wives and daughters of his officers and cut their little children into pieces, he would have answered, without a moment's hesitation, that it was clearly an impossibility."—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 216.

And now to see the astounding inference drawn by such authority.

"But, in defiance of all human calculations, suddenly, and as if by miraculous intervention, the man ceased, and the fiend arose. It is useless to account for the phenomenon. We know too well the dreadful fact."—*Ibid*.

The sailors, in the vanity of their hearts, say "Tell that to the marines, but the sailors will not believe it." It is the old attempt. It is the endeavour to prevent you from asking for causes. There is something desired to be wrapped up, and therefore you are told "It is useless to endeavour to account for the phenomenon." When human remains were found in a carpet-bag under Waterloo Bridge, did anybody tell you it was "useless to endeavour to account for the phenomenon?" Why then are you told so now?

But there must be further sifting of this wisdom of the wise, if it is only that all of us may take our proper places. Is it credible, reasonable, or according to such experience of worldly events as comes within the scope of the moderately well-informed of the Industrious Classes, that a whole country full of people, loving, devoted, amiable,—a country where English men and women walked through the land with something like the sense of security and affectionate regard with which a kind landlord and his family present themselves to the villagers on the estate,—should suddenly, in defiance of all human calculations of causes and effects, with no possibility of explanation but "as if by miraculous intervention," undergo without assignable cause such a change as "the man ceasing and the fiend arising"? Did any living creature ever witness such a change;—or read of it in history;—or did the authors of works of imagination ever run the risk of such a theory?

There is something to hide. They are all in a story; and you are to be the gulls and dupes. Providence is trying you at this moment, to see whether you are worthy to take your place among those who have a voice in the decision of public affairs.

Not that those who set before you these prodigies of ill reasoning do it with eyes open to a malicious intent. Men do not say now as in Solomon's time, "Come let us shed innocent blood." They shed blood and persuade themselves they are the innocents. But all these things are lessons, showing how needful it is that if men would not have their eyes stolen out of their heads, for the chance of seeing afterwards through other men's spectacles, they should use the privilege of eyes while they have them, and not be led astray by what any authority, however great, may tell them to the contrary.

The picture given of the natives of India, before the fiend was let loose upon them in the shape of military madness, is not in the smallest degree overcharged. The lady who was with me in India and Arabia, and had seen the sepoys by land and sea, in peace and war, in journeyings often, in camp and on the march, said when she heard of late events, "The sepoys—were much more likely to have asked to nurse the little children, than to cut anybody's throat." And for this we are to be told, there is no assignable cause; man alive cannot tell a reason why; it is inscrutable, and you had better not ask. The depositors of the human remains upon the bridge (if it was not a freak of some medical students) would say the same if they had the chance.

If the laborious ox, or still more patient beast of burthen, was seen "suddenly and as if by miraculous intervention" running amuck and sending man, woman and child to the hospital by dint of horn or hoof,—if all at once the kindly creature "ceased, and the fiend arose,"—the Edinburgh Reviewers would never pit their character for sense, on inviting us to make no "useless endeavour to account for the phenomenon," and particularly not to ask whether some reprobate has not blown substances of intolerable acrimony up the nostrils of the animal, or applied some chemical, equivalent to liquid fire, to a sensitive part. Men know better than to argue childishly on the everyday affairs of life.

Cervantes's fool at Seville (Preface to Second Part of Don Quixote) said "I suppose you think it an easy matter to blow up a dog." If to blow up a dog was work enough for a fool, to establish an Empire among two or three hundred millions

of people of different habits, religion, and language, was work enough for a wise man, or any succession of wise. Wise men did it for a hundred years, and military folly destroyed it in one hour. Military coxcombry and ignorance were always at work in India, counteracting the efforts of Civil wisdom, and hatching the materials for massacre and mischief. In 1806, a martinet of a General took offence at the moustaches of the Native Army, and particularly at their wearing on their foreheads what looks like a small red wafer, being precisely the custom alluded to in Scripture under the title of the "seal in the forehead." Anybody with as much sense as would make him pass muster at Bradford, would have felt that the more an Indian soldier carried of these distinctions of his tribe and faith, the greater was the evidence to the talent and influence which could knead these men of strange mould into an effective force, and have their enthusiastic services. But the military chief thought otherwise. He perhaps never thought,—for thinking was not his forte,—that to order the Native soldier to cut off his moustaches, was the same ridiculous affront as if he had ordered a European grenadier to wear a mob-cap, and that washing off the wafer from the forehead was the same kind of insult as if one of John Wesley's military followers had been ordered to strip naked to see that he had not a ticket of the Methodist Society about him. Nothing but the highest incompetence—an incompetence like what at Bradford should lead a manager to throw hob-nails into the machinery and smoke his pipe among the cotton—would have dreamed of such an act. Nevertheless the act was done, and a glorious mutiny got up,—brilliant killing and slaying on all sides,—great "fun" for the amateurs of massacre,—if a lion could chew the cud, the "British lion" would be chewing on it to this day.

When a great explosion takes place, there is always some moment at which the deed was done, some point of time when the fire was applied to the mouth of the powder-barrel. The Edinburgh Reviewers let out a clear perception of when this moment was. They note that at Meerut, where 85 honest troopers were sent to ten years' labour in irons for making a respectful remonstrance against an interference with their religious feelings which the Civil government had prohibited,—

"The junior officers of the regiment, both European and native, had remonstrated against such a proceeding."—*Id.*

That is to say, they remonstrated against firing the magazine. Care has been taken in the reports laid before parlia-

ment to keep down this remarkable fact. The Edinburgh Reviewer, who undoubtedly has the means, appears to have come to the knowledge of it; and thanks are due for the communication.

The military men of all Europe, not excluding America, will form a judgment whether here was not a movement so irrational, tyrannical, and contrary to all that forms the bond between the soldier and the officer, as to lead to what followed by the same invincible necessity, that in nine cases out of ten, firing a gun ensues on pulling of the trigger.

Once more, to impress upon your readers, that the point there is so much anxiety to conceal, is that the mischief in India arose out of the violence and incapacity of the military authorities, in wilful rebellion against the directions of the Civil government. And that the question in the end will be, whether the same shall be imported here.

Yours, &c.

11 November, 1857.

THE NATIONAL "STAMPEDO."

XXIII.

In parts of South America where the plains are covered with cattle in nearly a wild state—the great hide and tallow countries—the horned beasts are occasionally seized with a kind of contagious madness, which makes them throw up their tails and shut their eyes, a precaution a bullock always takes in critical circumstances, and rush with one consent like the swine possessed of the devil in the land of the Gergesenes, till they run violently down a steep place into the sea, or in any other way come to the end which insanity with eyes shut is calculated to ensure. And this, it may be doubtful from what language, is known as a "stampedo."

How the madness begins, it is not always easy to trace. Perhaps some captain bullock has stuck his horns into his subordinates till they could stand it no longer, and so the subordinates have resisted in a way that ended in blood and brain-shed; though oxen are weak in that way, compared to Christians with nine-pounders. The thing however is begun, and bovine wisdom issues the general order for the rush.

Something closely resembling this, is the case with general England now. Those who ought to have been wisest, take everywhere the lead in folly. Look for the men whose positions as statesmen, divines, or professional philanthropists,

might have led to expect better things, and you shall find them careering at the heads of columns, the fattest and the maddest bulls of Bashan of the whole. Look for instance at your philanthropists. You will find them gloating over every instance of Christian ferocity, and laying themselves out to deny and conceal the fact, that all the mischief arose out of a distinct breach of faith towards the Native army, conducted with a brutality which would have driven the Life Guards into mutiny if it had been practised on them in the troublous times of history. Fancy in the present day eighty-five Catholic troopers (the case is so put because they might be a virtual minority), sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour in irons, for remonstrating against being forced to do what their friends and countrymen considered as equivalent—I copy the words from the columns of the *Times*—to spitting on the Host. And then stands up your philanthropist, and asks what grievance was ever put forward. Take another case, and you shall find your man uttering a howl of woe like the hyæna at the Zoological Gardens, because of a report that a high Civil Servant in India has saved from murder in cold blood a number of prisoners. Our philanthropist trusts in God's mercy it is not true. He feels the liveliest hope that the private soldier has taken the matter out of the hands of the Civil Governor, and outdone the massacres with which the French revolutionists were twitted. The Parisian populace killed men in the prisons without trial; but they did not wait till a constituted authority had ordered their release, and kill them afterwards. This was left for those who are toiling to make the name of Englishman a horror and a disgrace. And what did your philanthropist know about the case? Did he know, for instance, that the released in question were not the horse-keepers of the former British force,—people as far from responsible for anything that had happened or not happened, as the boys of the shoe-black brigade in the event of an insurrection in London? He knew nothing but that blood had not been shed, and his righteous soul was grieved. The Civil Governor was on the spot and knew all; but the philanthropist three thousand miles off knew better by consultation of the spirit that was in him. He has been disappointed of blood; and therefore he howls. "So would it be with us, if we were there;" this is what you and I may come to, if these men have their way. Why should not they come down on us or ours to-morrow, with some intolerable injury to our political or religious feelings, and then blow us

from guns, and raise the voice of disappointed wild-beasts against the Civil ruler who should interfere?

A general gives an order, such as has never been issued in writing since Rome ceased to be Pagan. And your philanthropist is in spasms of delight, at the emanation of Christian feeling which went the length of saying something about accepting women. An officer puts a prisoner to death with previous torture of the most refined kind*. No evidence is offered that the prisoner was in any way personally guilty beyond being found in the captured town. The officer gives it under his own hand, that he did it because the prisoner thought it would damn his soul. There are horrible stories told of the enormities which took place during the religious wars of Europe; perhaps it is because one side are the tellers, that they are found laid to the charge of the other. The two most frightful stories in previous military history, are of the commander who in storming a town filled with both religious sects, said "Kill them all; God will know his own." And the other who, when people burnt in their houses threw their little children out of the windows, ordered them to be thrown back, with "Burn the nits as well as the lice." But both these are thrown into the shade by the last invention, for which the name of Englishman will be uttered in horror for coming generations. But your philanthropist considers the actor as a kind of "Ecce homo;" he views him as a sort of personification of Christianity exercising its mission on the heathen. And this, with the massacre at Canton which opened the ball, we shall have to reward in the House of Commons.

The Native soldiers who remained with the English army, after giving up their arms are reported to have been murdered in their sleep by the English soldiery. The news does not appear quite certain; but your philanthropist is in raptures of hope that it is true, he cannot conceive the ill judgment of the officer who should propose to hinder it, he thinks it the most proper thing on earth, and what every follower of Him of Nazareth is bound to admire and support. And the army thus tutored is to be brought back upon us, as James brought Kirk's regiments from Tangier.

It is plain enough what we shall have here. The cholera at Hamburgh is not more certain to find its way to our coasts, than that this will be among us before long. Well may the Recorder of Birmingham think it is time to warn against exchanging the complexities of English law for the compendious jurisdiction of the corporal. The corporal is

86 Outcry against "Red Tape" and "Traditional Policy."

the man who knows all about it. The points as yet indicated by name as demanding the corporal's interference, are the Chartists and the Maynooth grant ; but it is just as likely to come to you or to me. The corporal, by looking in our faces, will know whether we are "rascals," or "scoundrels," and blow us from a gun accordingly. A nice thing in Bradford streets, to find the legs of an editor blown through one shop-window, and his brains and midriff in another. Yet this is what the country is howling for. All who think otherwise are bespattered with ill terms, (better, you will say, than with brains), as men of honest callings have their typifications in the vocabulary of thieves, and decent women are assailed in a strange tongue by the wanderers of the pavement. It is quite true; they have their bye-words; and such of us as have passed through the rougher scenes of life, can hardly fail to have been conscious of the fact. So with the others, "humanity" has long been a thing to throw into a man's teeth; and there is somebody in last week's *Times*, who complains of Christianity as "preventing a desirable consumption." We shall find out by-and-by where we are. That is to say, more of us will find out; for some of us know already. The aids are coming. This very day a sermon is sent me, which shows that the drum ecclesiastic is not always beat for mischief. It is on those words which will shine in glory when the tyrant and the unrighteous conqueror are made over into everlasting contempt, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It purports to have been preached at Southampton, by the Rev. Edmund Kell, a family name not unknown to you for good; and published at Whitfield's, 178, Strand, by request; where, I imagine, it may be had by post for three stamps. If we knew more of the strength of ancient populations, we could tell better, what proportion this preacher and his congregation bear to the ten righteous who would in old time have saved a city.

During the prevalence of such a "stampede" as described, it is a good rule to suspect everything that comes from the insane side. What is this outcry we hear against "red tape"? Red tape means order; red tape means much the same as merchants' accounts. We all know the kind of gentlemen, whose lives are made a martyrdom by the obstinacy of bankers requiring cheques, and not only cheques but "effects" to back them. Precisely of the same kind is the outcry against red tape. It began in the Crimea; where men who thought they ought to have been at the top of things and

were not, discovered that the way for an army to have what it wanted, was for every man to take what he liked. In India, it takes a wider scope. Instead of being aimed at the pen-and-ink arrangements of a commissary, by men longing to get two rations of rum where one is due, it was the effort of the Anti-Civil-Power party in all kinds, to take the conduct of affairs out of the hands of those who had kept them together for a hundred years, and the immediate consequence was the present explosion. "Traditional policy," is a branch of the same outcry. The traditional policy, in spite of many grievous faults, had been on some important points the soundest prudence. Among these, was to avoid collision with the religion of the Natives,—to allow of no insult to them for shades of complexion,—not to hurry the process of proselytism, lest there should happen what has happened, a general hatred of Christianity, which cannon cannot reach, nor the rope amend. To these was to be added, a careful introduction of civil judicature, with its annoying interpositions between the culprit and the hangman, and a steady check on that sublimer law, which teaches a corporal, and taught a rajah, to know the guilty by the inspiration that is in him. These checks it was the first business of the military philosophers to remove; and they got them out of the way, partly by direct interference, and partly by that constant wearing, which, like the dropping of water, produces its effects in the end; till at last the British tenure of India was left at the mercy of any colonel of a regiment who chose in defiance of the opinion of his officers to force his regiment into mutiny, without the chance of wiser heads interfering to say "Child! be quiet."

In my next, if nothing hinders, shall be an endeavour to show, how the results of the felon spirit abroad in the world, are coming or come to you at Bradford.

Yours, &c.

18 November, 1857.

**"ALL WICKEDNESS IS WEAKNESS."—FROM WHAT QUARTER
COMES THE PUNISHMENT FIRST?**

XXIV.

THOUGH directly contrary to the rule established by our statesmen in Lords and Commons, commercial men and the industrious classes generally, will allow of inquiry into the causes and origin of the sufferings which are coming or come. And this because they have learned, in the school of all the experience which has befallen them, that to ascertain the

past causes of present evils is the only way sensible men, in *their* line of business, go about to prevent the accumulation for the future.

And in what way does any living creature come to the knowledge of how to conduct itself, except by asking on every occasion of loss or failure, how the damage came about? A dog does it. Everybody does it, but a statesman. The pointer which is punished for putting up the game, connects the suffering with some past act, and takes a lesson for the future. What would become of a pointer, which said the beating was "a phenomenon it was useless to account for?"

When nations enter into an implied league to support or at all events not interfere with one another in iniquity, it would be too much to expect of the Power that rules the world, that the punishment of each should come out of its own particular box. It will do quite as well if it comes out of any of the others, and so turn and turn about. "All wickedness is weakness;" but the weakness may come out of other men's wickedness to-day, and your own to-morrow. This is not the first time of noticing the tripartite treaty which virtually exists among three of the leading powers of the world; and the notice ought to be revived and freshened by what is taking place before our eyes. The United States are to establish Slavery through the States of Central America, and for one-and-twenty years England has been holding the clothes. What France intends to have, has broken out in the form of re-establishment of the African Slave Trade. And England is to be let alone in her proceedings in China and in India. Such at least was the apparent compact as it stood. The minister has chosen within these few days to throw doubts on its stability, by hinting at the probability of somebody being desirous of attacking England. Surely the man would have been held mad, in any other department of life, who had volunteered such an invitation. No banker was ever known, when there were no visible symptoms of a run upon him, to come forward with the gratuitous information, that if anybody made such an attempt, he would be found stronger than was expected. Nobody does such things but statesmen. The profession and position of a statesman liberates him from all the rules which elsewhere are thought prudence. He establishes the rule that every man's misdeeds are to be cured and not inquired into, and sits down in measureless content. And what was the argument volunteered to foreigners, who perhaps never thought of anything like what they were invited to think about? One of our friends draws and

expends, a sum of money which some people think a strain upon his means. To which he replies "Never fear; *I have drawn as much more*, and therefore am where I was." If this man had an enemy, surely that enemy would discover that by such drawing he had come nearer to his end. Foreign statesmen are not so dull, if English are. They know that war among powerful nations is a contest of ultimate resources, and that it is no answer to having made one draft on these, to say I have made another.

But now to seek the cause of the present commercial evils. They come to us from America, and America has long been engaged in two courses of avowed and notable injustice, "filibustering" and slave-dealing. The natural effect of doing what a man knows to be wrong, is to dull his sensibility to anybody's interest but his own; and he who has no sensibility to anybody's interest but his own, is in common life on the high road to a felon's fate, and in public to something not unlike. And the effect is not confined to the immediate actors, but extends to those who are brought, voluntarily or not, into habitual contact with them. A reckless spirit makes head, and shows its consequences in all directions. Nobody would look to filibusters for economy or forethought; nor to a filibustering nation. Where the overpowering tendency is to doing what no regard to the ordinary rules of right can justify, a general disposition to run unwarrantable risks for the chance of possible gains, takes possession of society; the very school-boy lays down his bets with increased alacrity, in confidence in the "T, take up all" which he feels sure will be the end. And if filibusters are not prudent for the future, neither are they economical of the present. "Light come, light go," is everywhere their motto; and of such is the Bankrupt List. The Americans seem disposed to lay the blame upon their wives. It makes little difference here, so long as the thing was done.

It may be a useful question whether it is not possible for a nation to reduce itself to bankruptcy by the over-expenditure of private persons, as well as an individual. Which does not mean that there shall not be a dealer in gingerbread who continues solvent; but that there shall be a great and general inability to meet commercial engagements, like what is now in America and is extending itself to Europe. In attempts to gain light on this, the principal argument on the other side has appeared to be, that what one man over-spends, some other must gain;—in short the old argument in favour of luxury. Doubts may be felt on this. If an individual A. B.

ruins himself by over-expenditure, it is not asserted that he ruined the tradesmen with whom he dealt; at least if he paid their bills. What is asserted is, that he ruined *himself*. But if in addition to this he has run up bills which he cannot pay, then he has to the extent of the process ruined other people. If an agriculturist mismanages,—if he puts more into the soil than he takes out of it, and still more if he incurs debts in the prosecution of his object which he never pays,—he may be held to be going the straight way to ruin both himself and other people. And if there were a hundred thousand such agriculturists in a country, they would go a great way towards making a hole in that country's credit upon 'Change.

The remedy, or one of the remedies, proposed to be applied, appears to be an operation of some kind upon the circulating medium. Things are so wrapped up in conventionalisms, that it is not easy to be sure of what is meant. But it will be found that the thing intended, is that in some way or other there shall be bits of paper in existence under the title of Bank of England notes, without the power of being able to get anything for them on demand except what the market people will give. This is the old affair of 1797; of which everybody knows the result to be, that the increased quantity becomes of the same total value as the old, the difference being made up by the sinking of the value of every five-pound note a man had in his purse or in his strong box. The issuers of the new notes at the same time gain what was given for them, for they are not supposed to be given away for nothing; and the government further makes a gain by paying the fund-holders in something of smaller value than before. There never was anybody to be depended on for standing by the fund-holders, except the Radicals. Everybody else would cheat them if they could.

It is easy to see how any man that is in trouble for the means of paying his debts, would rejoice to be told he should be accommodated with a quantity of paper notes in which he could pay them, the value of such notes to be deducted from the value of such as were previously in the pockets of the public. But it does not so distinctly follow, why the public at large should rejoice, or why this should be the recognized way of putting an end to commercial troubles.

And next, for the share of France. The restoration of the African Slave Trade by France would never have been heard of, if the colonel in India had been content without putting his troopers in irons by a troop at a time, against the remonstrances of his officers, on a religious quarrel. But it is plain

that on the subject of the Slave Trade now, England has nothing to do but hold her tongue. Anybody who should urge the government to interfere, would only be begging it to parade its weakness. Chance of improvement in Africa, or of extension of trade or cotton-growing by British means, has all been blown from guns in India. Eight months ago, England might have done what she pleased in Africa; and those who will refer to your newspaper press about that period, will find me urging on your Chamber of Commerce in no measured terms, the possibility of making "a black England" to any extent desired. All that is over now. If Africans were asked to become black England, they would laugh in the face of the proposer, and say "Will you blow us from guns as you have done your Indians?" Britain had the offer of a high mission; she might have been the leader of more than half mankind. Britain has thrown it in the face of Providence, for the pleasure of gloating upon the accounts of scattered limbs, and the effect of a shower of blood and brains on Asiatic populations. Are such things to be found in any other nation's history? There was a king who lost three kingdoms for a mass; but never a country which threw up an empire for the like of this. The negro-hunter has won the day; and all of us who had interests different from his, must creep under his huge legs and pay the bill.

For the English part, it is difficult to be new; but there is enough to make the gruel thick and slab. Somebody in coming years will take the English newspapers of the present time, preserved in the British Museum for that very purpose, and compare them with the records left in France during the progress of a Revolution which in its day had been considered one of the world's terrors. Frenchmen will anticipate the process, and examine how far anything in France approached to the luxury of blood and massacre, in which it may almost be said universal England has rioted. One simple question from a military man. Did any officer in the French, or Austrian, or Russian service, ever with his own hands act as hangman? Is it clear that any officer in those services will sit down with an English one, till at all events something has been done to prove him a clean man?

For the first time in the history of the universe, a country is seen attempting distant conquest, and beginning by trumpeting its determination to do everything that may carry resistance, from the best-born to the inmates of the hovel. One counsellor says, exclude all Natives from office; another, massacre all except the women; another expresses his discontent with that,

and admires the soldier reported to have embodied his feeling by bayoneting a woman, and replying with the energetic laconism, "It's such as them that breeds our enemies." The press, with a furor more like poetry than prose, has in all parts of the country given scope to its enthusiasm. One cherished writer is inventive on the treatment of a supposed leader, if he falls into his hands. I remember exactly the same being proposed on the subject of Napoleon. Others are discriminative on the places of banishment, which may receive those whom the breach of faith by their own rulers had driven to flight to escape massacre. Geniuses there are, who suggest the abolition of Oriental languages, and would have every man who writes his name in Arabic or Persian, hanged with his pen and inkhorn about his neck. An officer assassinates two Mohammedans for "scowling at him;" so says the account, and what else have we to go by? Imagine a Mohammedan in Turkey pistolling two Christians for like offence, and what an outcry! One politician by way of promoting the submission of India, promises that it shall be ruled by a native army formed out of the lowest dregs of Indian society. And another improves upon it by saying they shall be Caffres from the Cape, or negroes purchased *à la Française*. Fancy an army landing in England, and holding out such sunkets to tempt submission. But perhaps nothing has surpassed the following, which is found copied without rebuke in a journal claiming something like a standing in the scale of civilization:—

"SUMMARY REMOVAL OF A NATIVE NUISANCE.—'Should he find, on taking possession of his residence, that there exist any nuisances next to or in the immediate vicinity of his compound, such as a small hut on the ground adjoining, in the front or rear of the premises he occupies, it will be perfectly useless for him to call the Sepoy (policeman), attempt to complain to the owner of the property, or to offer to rent the same. All his endeavours will prove abortive. The most effectual, safest, easiest and most economical plan will be to purchase a small pig, price 5 rupees or 10s., have a hole made in the hut, either at the side or back, and send the unclean animal into the premises; at the appearance or sound of which the whole of the inmates will abandon it instantaneously.'"—*Bradshaw's Overtland Guide to India.*

As a mere indulgence of imagination, fancy an invader presenting himself in England, and sending a trumpet before him to proclaim, that if any of his followers finds an Englishman's house in undesired proximity, "the most effectual, safest, easiest, and most economical plan will be, to have a hole made in the house, either at the side or back," and send

the "unclean" contents of a nightman's cart "price 10s., into the premises; at the appearance or sound of which," the Englishman "will abandon it *instantly*." This is put into a guide-book, to be the rule of conduct to the coming generation of travellers. On which there shall not be a word said of humanity—it would be laughed at;—religion—there once was such a thing;—law—the deliberate declaration is that there shall be none; honour—we are hangmen. Only one question shall be advanced, as a point on which somebody may yet be sensible;—Why are *we* to pay for doing everything man can devise to prevent any successful termination?

If anybody considers me too warm, remember I have served with the Indian soldier, and know that nothing could have driven him to run amuck, but what would drive our Methodist and in the end our Quaker friends to fierce resistance. There was but one point on which he could not bear being attacked, like a horse which will not stand being touched in the flank. That point was his religion; and with devilish acuteness they took advantage of it, and then made capital of the madness of the sufferer. One way they went about it, would curl the nostrils of all Europe, if issued in French as it might be. "*L'anglais s'est déclaré ———, pour exciter les sensibilités de l'Europe.*" Our countrymen in great majority, have proved themselves not fit to attempt the rule of foreign territories; they have not the cerebral organization. They had better let it alone, and no man of principle ought to be found encouraging them to it. They had the finest foreign army in history, and then they massacred it. I will not be one to join; and he that holds his peace is as though he massacred with his own hand. Of the forty native soldiers who fell upon the flank of a victorious enemy and saved what was saved, some in the course of nature will be alive, if they have escaped being blown from guns. I should be glad to think, that sitting under his palm-tree far from the white man's treason, some of them remembered me.

Yours, &c.

25 November, 1857.

WHAT ARE TO BE THE CONSEQUENCES?

XXV.

THE same school of statesmen who lay down the rule that it does not become us to inquire into the causes of past events, will think themselves bound equally to protest against inquiry into the consequences. For what is inquiry into the

future to-day, will be inquiry into the past to-morrow, and therefore what is reason for one will soon be reason for the other.

But there is one weakness in this argument, and that is, that a great portion of the consequences are dependent on what we do to-day. It may be perfectly sound sense, and accordant with the practice of men fit to take charge of their own and other men's affairs, to say, here is a man bankrupt, but it would be very unbecoming in anybody to inquire how he became bankrupt, inasmuch as that is a thing of gone-by time, which omnipotence itself cannot alter or affect. This may be good mercantile or statesmanlike reasoning, and what every affectionate father would hold out for the edification of his son engaging in statesmanship or trade. It shall be a point left to posterity; it shall not be argued now. But it is *not* good mercantile or statesmanlike policy to say, "You are doing certain things now, which have a strong tendency to lead to bankruptcy; but never mind, for when you are bankrupt, it will be unalterable and therefore come under the head of things not to be inquired into, and so you will be all right."

It shall be laid down then, that the inquiry into consequences shall be limited to what is doing *now*. No man shall be threatened with inquiry into his having set fire to the factory last week; but if he is found with the torch in his hand doing it to-day, he shall be reasoned with on the impropriety of his conduct. Those who like to let him go on, upon the ground that to-morrow there will be nothing to be done but build the factory up again, may take their way; but there are many of us who will dissent.

In the first place then, war is declared in print, against the inhabitants of every dependency of Great Britain which may be called of foreign origin. And this war is carried on from day to day, and will continue so to be. Everybody knows how the exhortations of a sanguinary press have contributed to make the horrors which it sells. The hint goes from the compositor to the executioner, and the thing is put in action. It is possible it may not all be true. They give us the romance of wickedness; and it is to be hoped, for their souls' sake, they sometimes lie. It has been noticed how the word has gone forth in India against certain sets of politicians and religionists at home, who were strongly recommended for the application of corporal's law; and in turn the word goes from the home to the foreign executives. The British possessions of Italian, Greek and French origin, will be found distinctly marked with the assassin's chalk. It is avowed, that if men

mean to rule, they must make an inequality of law for themselves and for the ruled ; and these are the instances specified. Italian and Greek are verbally explained as meaning Malta and Corfu ; and French can only mean Canada, unless Jersey must be added. Forewarn'd ought to be forearm'd, for all who may happen to be concerned.

And if this is to be the case in old dependencies, where considerable progress had been made in producing the amalgamation of interests which it is the first object of an able statesman to promote, still more must it go to the exclusion of Great Britain from future shares in the attraction or absorption of the comparatively unsettled portions of the globe. There were noble prospects before her, till this outbreak of the baser elements ruined all. The kingdom is departed from her, and given to whom history shall show. Other nations, who do not set one half their armies to blow the other half from guns on a quarrel about hog's lard, will occupy the position so stupidly thrown up. *Vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin* ; and every day you are doing your best to forward and ensure.

Never was such an "intent of tyranny avow'd," and with such manifest indications of where it is to fall next. The Indians are to be oppressed, because at one period of English history the Catholics were oppressed, and at another the Dissenters, and because the Jews are oppressed to this day. Such, in deliberate terms, are the intimations of the sanguinary press, which, like the Clubbists in the French Revolution, has taken the management of things into its hands. Of course the argument will be as good in one direction as the other, and has in fact been used already ; for among the distinguishable cries from India, one has been for putting the same law on Chartists and Catholics by name. The ministry meanwhile, whose object is to rule through the cry of "the British lion," as the leaders in the bad times of the French Revolution did through the cry of "the nation," is bent on renewing the India Bill of 1783, which our fathers, in conjunction with the sovereign, wisely put down, as knowing that after such a centralization, there would be no power in the country but the minister, and the civil, political, and religious rights of every man, from the throne downwards, would be at his mercy. The East India Company is to be attacked, because for the best part of a hundred years it has been opposed to the plan of making a slave-colony of India, and most particularly to the kind of measures which led to the present ruin. For years a disposition has been growing among the military Europeans and the immigrants, to make negro slaves of the Natives of

India, built on the prejudice of *colour*. How far the home government was aware of this (and it ought to have been, for the management of India had long been to a great extent taken into its hands through the Board of Control), is what cannot be known till the day of general enlightenment, if it ever comes; but the probability is that it knew all about it, and was glad to join. Note further, that the violences and follies of a particular kind which contributed to the present state of things, were by direction of the Board of Control and not of the Company. The Company stands therefore as a mere Anti-centralization bulwark, to be removed as the House of Commons would be removed if there were the same chances on the board. And while all this is going on, what call themselves the leaders of the Reformers are offering to sell themselves to the minister for anything he will give in their line, and presenting a spectacle like that of the philosophers who produced themselves at the bar of the Convention as representatives of the human race, while the ambulatory guillotine was doing its work in the provinces.

But there is more than this, and what every day's industry seems directed to accumulate. Europe is fast finding its stomach turn against the scenes presented to it. It cannot prevent the gorge from rising, at the feast of brains and mangled limbs presented by the inventive corporal; and fearful will be the emetic when the convulsion comes. These things were thought to belong to the middle ages, if not to the earlier days of traditional history. Little boys wondered whether there ever was a Cyclop, and whether a tyrant like Antiochus who put men to death for eschewing hog's lard, ate his dinner like other people. And now Europe, and America to boot, turn round on this puritanical self-righteous England, which has so often lectured them on their misdoings,—with "Thou art the man." It is not difficult to see how danger will come out of this; but what is the use of warning to the insane? By-and-by the language of the Continent will become what may be called *strong*; and executioners do not like strong language applied to their calling. Hence irritation; and from irritation, war. The Chinamen who live will see plentiful retribution for the massacre of their harmless countrymen by the opium-smuggler at Canton. And we too of the old anti-felon class they call "humanitarians," will see retribution enough if that were pleasure. Old women call for judgments; wise men have a conviction that by the constitution of nature there is a connexion between crime and punishment, quite sufficient for earthly purposes. It was Burke who said, if the

English were driven from India, they would leave no monuments but such as might have proceeded from the tiger and the orang-outan. The orang-outan and the tiger are hard at work to try whether there is any attribute in God or decent man to which they can look for toleration.

It was once my fortune to serve against what were denominated piratical tribes. They were precisely England on a small scale; their law and their gospel was to rob everybody weaker than themselves, on pretence of there being no community of law or justice between themselves and what they chose to consider as races inferior in faith or practice. Retribution came at last, in the shape of falling into the hands of stronger than themselves. But among these was a considerable class of individuals firmly penetrated with the preferableness of honest commerce, and the great danger of dishonesty and bloodshed by whomever practised. I did not learn with what names of abuse this minority had been assailed, but doubtless it had them. Exactly in the position of these men, are we of the anti-felon portion of society. We cannot help ourselves; we can only work, in hopes of in some way softening the fall.

Every day adds to the grand total of disgrace which, when the reaction comes, will discharge itself upon the British name and character. An account of the butchery of the descendants of the Mogul sovereigns is going the round of the newspapers*, which, if true, shows it to have been a more disgraceful murder under trust, than the records of ancient or mediæval crime can parallel. One British officer states of another, of his own regiment, that finding himself in the neighbourhood of the Mogul princes, with a detachment obviously too weak to make any impression on their array by force, he sent an emissary to them to intimate that on the whole they had better throw themselves on the consideration of the British government. And when in consequence they presented themselves, with their elephants and other appendages of Oriental state, and expressed their desire to abide by an inquiry into what their actual conduct had been, the officer—such is the statement of his admiring friend—ordered them to strip, and then calling for a carbine, murdered them with his own hand. The *Times* of 1 December gives what professes to be an exculpatory account; but is in truth confirmatory of the two principal facts†, that they were murdered under trust, and that the British officer murdered them with his own hand. No such thing is told of any other time, of any other place, of any other nation, of any other man;

and you and I must pass our lives under the load, which Omnipotence itself could not release us from, of belonging to the country where such things, true or not, are met by approbation. This is not the time for knowing whether they are true, for the officer will have the opportunity of telling his own story. But unhappily it *is* the time for seeing the fatal evidence, that such an account is received with acclamation by almost universal England, and set down as a specimen of what England would delight to honour. The men concerned upon the spot, say they knew that England would approve. The *coupe-tête* press and pulpit had told them so. Truly has it been said, that if anything like the French Revolution had happened in England, the atrocities would have been tenfold. A nation in a state of sanity would be aware that the question of putting to death the representatives of an ancient line, with all the burning feelings to be created by it in the breasts of millions, was one at all events to be entertained with seriousness by a Civil Government, and not to be undertaken without some show of hearing what might be advanced for the defence. It was to prevent the possibility of this, the ready carbine was employed. And it will all most probably have the thanks of parliament. If the honourable member for Lisburn will repeat his motion for the number of Indian soldiers blown from guns, there shall be added to it a motion for the number of British officers who with their own hands have acted as executioners. Is it possible a nation which hugs such things to its bosom, can finally stand its ground before the tribunal of mankind? We shall be hooted if we land at Boulogne, and the sound will be kept up all the way from Moscow to Gibraltar. As regards the manner of the murder of the Delhi princes, no French, Austrian, Prussian, or Russian officer, ought to consent to sit down at table with a British one, till some kind of public inquiry has been called for.

It will be profitable to trace the steps by which all this abomination came; and though it may not be possible to give up the persuasion that military force, like surgery, is a thing with which nations must be prepared, the result will still be to show what a "nasty" thing, to borrow a word from Milton's prose works, is war, and how much the efforts of all that is good or wise should be directed to keep it down and all that leads to it. The Crimean contest heated the blood of what calls itself the nation; and when that was over, the fever was not cooled. In Spain, where the rage for bull-fighting possesses all ranks, the country people when they have no

hopes of a bull, agree to bait a cow ; and so they mount their beasts of burthen of various kinds, and run a tilt against the harmless animal, imagining themselves Paladins and heroes. What the cow is to the Spanish peasants, the Chinese were to the ardent spirits of England. A vote of parliament condemned the cow-bait ; but a *coup d'état* of the minister, copied from the one in France, set the Punch's Tournament on its legs again. But the ridiculous will not always hinder mischief. A fool in cap and bells may fire a powder-magazine as well as another. The Chinese footpad-robbery, by the connexion between crime and danger which is in the constitution of things, was a moving instrument towards the explosion in India. And now the country which thought it so delightful to expel its best men from parliament for rebuking the footpad-robbery, stands dabbled in blood and the infraction of every principle of honest men and gentlemen, showing how skin-deep is the morality of the priest at the altar and the statesman in the cabinet, and what is the boasted honour of soldier man, who every now and then tries to ride roughshod over his civil brethren, as having a bluer blood in his veins than their lowliness can pretend to.

To recapitulate, set down five points.

1. That the resistance of the Native army in India arose out of gross attack on their religious feelings, such as if applied to either the Catholic or Protestant portions of the army at home, would have produced similar effects.

2. That the subsequent proceedings were of a kind which would have produced sanguinary popular reprisals in any of the disturbed periods of Europe. And that the extent and nature of those reprisals has been maliciously and contemptibly exaggerated, with a view to deceive.

3. That every step has been taken which ingenuity could invent, to force the Native army and population into acts of self-defence, and increase the obstacles to any favourable conclusion.

4. That the whole is to be traced to a spirit of rebellion in the military officers against the Civil Government, aided by the animosity to *colour* introduced by the increase of European immigrants, which the Civil Government had always protested against.

5. That the result is irretrievable national disgrace and damage ; which the majority is doing its utmost to increase.

Yours, &c.

3 December, 1857.



MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—CURRENCY DEBATE.—LIMITED LIABILITY.**XXVI.**

ON Thursday 3 December, the House of Commons met with the usual formalities, and the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne were concluded at 6 P.M. The leader of the Opposition made a speech, to which the minister replied, but neither of them offering any topic for remark ; and the House adjourned at 7.45.

On Friday was a lengthened Currency debate, remarkable for nothing but a general avoidance of the main question, which is whether it is politic to allow commercial men to relieve themselves by dipping their hands into the public money, and whether the licence is not a direct encouragement to the evil it pretends to cure.

A clerical wit has left us the legacy of a capital story. An archbishop in the Low Countries was presiding at a solemn dinner of all the clergy, when the place was beset by a hungry mob demanding instant food. Whereupon, says the history, the archbishop exclaimed, "Throw them out the dinner of the Deans and Chapters !"

Why, when commercial men who from one cause or other are in distress, raise a cry for help, are *we* to be the Deans and Chapters ? Why is the help to be afforded, by lending rags, the value of which is to be deducted from the value of what may previously be in every man's pocket or strong box ? If men want to borrow, have ye not houses whose business is to lend ? The usury laws are happily done away with, and every man may borrow money at the exact rate he can persuade other men to undertake the risk of lending to him. Why then set up a Government lending-shop ; has not Government plenty to do without it ? If the Victualling Office were to offer to lend beef and pork,—and there are plenty in these days who might be inclined to borrow,—there would be a general outcry against the unreasonableness of the permission. And the reason of its being permitted in the other case, is only traceable to those notions of benefit to arise from increasing the circulating medium, the refutation of which is slowly making progress with the public, and may in the course of time find its way into the House of Commons.

I am old enough to remember the stoppage of the Bank of England in 1797. I was a boy on a gallows, going to what we called "follow the hounds ;" and news came to the hunt,

that the Bank of England had stopped payment. The effect was to cause great doubts, whether under such a national calamity, it was proper for me to continue my ride ; though as other people did, their example prevailed. But everybody thought the world was drawing to an end ; and a partner in an eminent banking-house in Lombard Street who happened to be sojourning with my father, went to bed, such was the effect upon his nerves. Yet everybody got up the next morning and nothing came ; and the next, and next after that. People devoutly believed that a £5 note would not buy hot rolls for breakfast ; and stood amazed to see that tea and toast went on as usual. And so things continued, till it was discovered that the Bank was not only refusing to exchange its notes for gold, but was increasing its issues ; such over-issues being in fact a main part of the plot. And exactly in proportion to the over-issues, the value of the circulating medium became depreciated, the new and increased quantity being perpetually reduced to the same total value as the old. But as the golden guinea need never go for less than its worth as a piece of gold, the guineas made their way into the melting-pot or to the Continent. The great agents for this continental trade in gold, were understood to be the guards of the mail-coaches ; and the price they finally gave for guineas, was twenty-eight Bank of England £1 notes for twenty guineas, being a depreciation of one-fourth.

All this established, for those who had eyes to see, that the value of each of the component parts of a currency depends on the relation of the whole quantity in the hands of the public, to the wants of the said public at the present value ; and that to increase the material quantity above what is so wanted, is only to reduce the value of the new quantity to that of the old, taking the difference out of the value in the pockets of the previous holders, and giving the benefit of the operation to the issuers of the rags thrown into circulation.

One honourable member on Friday, who grew somewhat warm, intimated that if the Bank did not continue its lending processes, *the Working Classes would rise*. It would only have been common justice that somebody should have said, the Working Classes knew a great deal better. The knowledge of the Working Classes is not measured by the knowledge of Parliament ; to whose operations may in some degree be applied what Talleyrand said of language,—that it was given to man “to enable him to conceal ideas.”

The Bill of Indemnity presents one amusing peculiarity. The Government was supposed to be coming forward in the character of the fair penitent who sings or says—

“I own I’ve too indulgent been.”

But it adds a provision for being “seduced again,” daily or oftener if need be, between this and “the Expiration of Twenty-eight Days after the First Meeting or Sitting of Parliament in the Year One thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight.”

On Monday was a considerably tedious debate on Currency, producing little that was new, and a great deal of recapitulation of what might be hoped to be antiquated. On the whole, however, there might be collected to be an approach to the belief, that we want a currency which, like a yard-wand, shall be of some fixed standard; and that all the consequences of tampering with the currency, are as nearly as possible to be represented by what would be the results of tampering with the yard-wand in similar circumstances. An odd thing it would be, if men were found intimating to the government that they were bound to deliver a thousand yards of cloth on a certain day, and therefore they would be obliged if the government would shorten the yard-wand. And equally amusing would be the scene, if they were found impressing on the government, that by reducing the yard-wand to half, the yards of cloth in the country would be doubled, to the manifest increase of the public wealth. It may be doubted whether back and loins would agree in this last stroke of policy.

On Tuesday, debate on Mr. Headlam’s motion for extending the power of limited liability to Joint-Stock Banks. The arguments appeared to reduce themselves, to whether limited or unlimited liability gave the greatest security. One side urged, that of course the greater the liability the greater the security. Another side maintained, that the effect of the unlimited liability was to cause prudent men of substance to keep away; and instanced a case, where a waiter at a coffee-house was found to hold three shares in a joint-stock bank. What is certain seems to be, that great sufferings have in one way or other arisen from joint-stock banks; and the effect of this and other feelings, was to cause the proposed alteration to be negatived, by 118 votes against 47.

In Committee on the Bank Issues Indemnity Bill, a proposal to leave out words tending to check the issue of new paper for the convenience of borrowers, was negatived by 100 to 18.

On Wednesday 9 December the Bank Issues Indemnity Bill was read a third time and passed. Some verbal alterations were made in the Bill, in the interval between its being read a third time and passed. And the House adjourned at 3 p.m.

Yours, &c.

10 December, 1857.



JEW BILL—CURRENCY.

XXVII.

On Thursday 10 December the House went into Committee on the question of introducing a new Bill for the relief of the Jews. The Bill as submitted, is a poor maimed affair. It throws overboard the principle that religious opinions shall not be a cause of difference in political rights, and proposes to authorize the omission of the words "on the true faith of a Christian" in the case of Jews. Part explanation may be, that a sort of threat is virtually held out, that if this Bill is not assented to, there shall be a return to the old attempt to carry the point by a Resolution of the House of Commons. The Attorney-General has launched an opinion, that by the Act passed by King, Lords, and Commons, 5 and 6 of William IV., the House of Commons has the right to make Resolutions touching the admission of its own members. The Courts of Law say they will not recognize this, and that if any man votes in the House of Commons without uttering the words "on the true faith, &c.," they will fine him £500 a-time. And so the quarrel stands at present.

One curious argument was presented to the House, and met with no opposition, but on the contrary approbation. It was, that it would be hypocrisy if a principle was violated in this country (viz. the principle of religious oppression), which, it was urged "should be acted on in India, even contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants." You see the way in which bigotry acts and re-acts.

It is clear enough what some men intend. It is that no man shall possess political rights in India, who does not profess "the true faith of a Christian." It is the most gigantic crusade ever attempted, not excepting what went forth under the extraordinary leaders whom Gibbon commemorates. It is time that you, who in purse or in person are to pay for all, should be looking into the matter. The religious bodies, so far as I can judge, have a sort of leaning towards the operation. They labour under the temptation, of hoping to make their several Paraguanys. They will think differently, when

they wake some morning under the paw of the British lion ; meaning always by that term the spirit of violence which accumulates in man and beast, by the consciousness of numbers and association. It shows itself in horned cattle, in wolves, in hounds, and some time ago there was a story in the newspapers of a man who was chased for his life by a convocation of politic weasels.

If this goes on, it may be set down as determined, that England henceforth is not to go forth to introduce her freedom and her justice into the remote regions of the earth, but is to resolve herself into a scheme for enforcing "the true faith of a Christian" on millions of Mohammedans and Hindoos, and finally blowing from a gun every man who will not "taste swine's flesh" at her bidding. It will not and it cannot come to good ; and those who had the sense to foresee the consequences, will have credit for it some day.

How long will it be before an ecclesiastic who has been gratified by seeing a martyr for Mohammedanism blown from a gun, will bethink himself of the zest there would be in applying the same process to a Catholic or a Unitarian ? Is there any doubt that both of them are almost equally removed from the standard of his "true faith ;" and if one, why not another ? In the days when there was a political inducement for conciliating the Mohammedans, a bishop, if I make no mistake, uttered the opinion that Mohammedanism might be considered as little but another form of Christianity. Of course if you may blow away the Mohammedan, you may blow away the Unitarian and the Catholic, who are so little nearer to the standard of the faith. Will the world never learn, what a perilous thing it is to give the reins into the hands of violent and bloody men, and how sure it is in the end to fall upon those who, like the ostrich and the turkey, hide their heads and think no danger can come near them ?

On Friday the war of words was resumed with unabated vigour on the Currency question, on occasion of the motion for appointment of a Select Committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made mirth of those, if such there be, who call for a convertible unlimited currency. It is strange that nobody would clear the question by saying, that a convertible unlimited currency is a currency that runs into unconvertible, as fast and by the same process as a beer-barrel runs out when the spigot is withdrawn. The moment there is more currency, gold and paper together, than is wanted to conduct the exchanges of the country at the previous value, the new currency is reduced to the same value as the old, which is depreciation ;

and as soon as the sovereign is worth more as metal than as a coin, people wisely send it to the melting-pot, in spite of all the efforts of the wise men of Gotham to hedge-in the cuckoo.

The leader of the Opposition started with an assertion, that the increased quantity of gold, from Australia or elsewhere, was the cause of the disturbance in commerce by excessive speculation. In this there was truth, so far as ungrounded expectations built on that increase were the cause. But setting these aside, there was no more inherent and necessary source of improvement to commerce from the increase in the quantity of gold, than from an increase in the quantity of coffee. Only men would never have gone wild on an increase in the quantity of coffee, as they did in the quantity of gold. It is the old mistake of the alchemists, or some of them; for there were among them those who were more reasonable in their ideas. But a great many of them lived and worked in the belief, that if gold could by their art be made as plentiful and easily procured as lead, all the world would be rich, because every man might have in his pocket as much gold as he could carry. It surely does not go beyond the knowledge of most men in the present day, that the only final consequence would be, that gold would be used like lead for making spouts and roofs for churches. But if such a discovery had been announced and with appearances of reality, it is easy to conceive how men would have been led to launch into schemes and speculations of all kinds, in confidence in what was at hand. The alchemists have left specimens of it. One was for applying the coming gold to the establishment of the Protestant interest. Another wished it to be directed to driving the Turks from Constantinople. And a third conceived the project of giving to every man, at least in Christian countries, a hundred ounces of gold *per annum*, on which he was to live at home at ease.

So far then the position taken by the Opposition was valid, but not further. There never will be any good, till men can be disabused of the notion that currency is wealth, and the more currency the more wealth. They might just as well say, that the more water is put to their brandy, the more they get for their money. The question is, of what there is in the shape of strength, and not how much is made of it with the pump in the yard.

The Opposition further stood upon the preferableness of discussions in the House, over discussions in Select Committee. The House however was of opinion, that if discussions in a Select Committee come to little, discussions in the House

come to less ; and the Committee was carried by 295 votes against 117. Nothing is clearer than that discussion of one kind or other is the only way of getting out of the scrape. Twenty years ago there was a superstition, that the holding together of the commercial machine depended on keeping out foreign corn. Now the superstition is, that lending the public money to traders is the way to keep trade in a wholesome state. One will go off like the other, when the time comes.

Under a faulty system, you must do what is for the best under the faulty system ; for it may be a long time before you can change it. You may ride your horse in a halter, or you may ride him in a snaffle which is better ; but you must not put off the halter till you are sure of putting on the snaffle. Men all believed the maintenance of commerce depended on lending the public paper, as they formerly thought it depended on keeping out corn ; and the Government probably shared in the belief. But the Government in the present case, did the least it thought it could ; and to go against the Government, would have been to go with the men who wanted to ride without halter or bridle at all.

On Saturday 12 December, the House met for the purpose of hearing the Royal Assent given by Commission to the Bank Issues Indemnity Bill ; and on its rising adjourned to 4 February, 1858.

Yours, &c.

17 December, 1857.



EXPENDITURE ON FIREWORKS A CAUSE OF COMMERCIAL DISTRESS.

XXVIII.

THE circumstances of the times invite to the endeavour to contribute something to the knowledge of the causes of commercial distress such as is now pressing upon the public.

The subject is a complicated one, and it is not to be expected that anybody is to come forward with a specific. But it will be useful if light can be thrown, however small, on any of the leading causes ; and, with time, the light may grow to more.

I want to set the suffering part of the public on inquiring, whether the evil may not, in one direction at least, be traced to profitless national expenditure. Of the effect of profitless personal expenditure, notice has been taken before ; and reference to it may perhaps be found useful again.

Suppose "the British lion" were to take into its head, to raise fifty millions a-year and expend it on fireworks,—sky-rockets and Roman candles, and cataracts of flame of every colour under heaven. Would this, or would it not, have a tendency to produce commercial distress?

I think it would. For though it might be pleaded that the money was equally paid for something and to somebody, as if it had been left in the pockets of the holders and by them expended on Bradford and other trades,—there would be this great difference, that what is expended on Bradford trade is not lost, but goes forth into the world, and trade breeds trade, whereas fireworks breed nothing but smoke, and smoke makes no returns. I think it is undeniable, that a nation which should expend the whole or the greater part of its revenue on fireworks, would never be in want of a commercial distress.

If your fireworks were burnt for any useful object,—as for instance if your sky-rockets were to warn a vessel off a dangerous coast, or give notice of an invading enemy,—just so far as the utility was proved, it would be an expenditure for wise men; and all the remainder, as before.

Commercial men, and those who are suffering from present consequences, ought to be able to carry this out. It may be in the books or it may not; for it would not follow that because it was there, it was known. The principles of Free Trade were in the books full sixty years, before they began to take root downwards and bear fruit upwards. There is no lack of matter for present inquiry. An official is sent to China, with four thousand a-year out of Bradford earnings among others, "superintending trade;" and the first thing he does for his money, is to put a stop to all trade, and incur the expenditure of a million to begin with, for a great deal worse than smoke, the dishonour of the country's name, and the ruin of the prospects of honest trade he was sent to promote. "The British lion" cries bravo, as it would if you or I were to be cut up for its amusement. But the question I want to ask, is whether the working man at Bradford who sees a half-dinner on the table for himself and family, does not owe it, at least in part, to this Chinese expenditure on fireworks.

And then comes the other enormity, to which the Chinese misery is but a flea-bite. In the finest foreign empire ever possessed by any country, our maniacs and our reprobates were allowed to get the upper hand, and for the pleasure of forcing a Native soldier to "taste swine's flesh," to plunge the character of the nation into a gulf, from which

Humane Society's drags can fish it up, but it must go down to eternal memory as a specimen of what man's insanity up to the nineteenth century could accomplish ; and for this the working man's taxation is to run out, without limit and without hope, till the cravings of the mad wild-beast are satisfied if they ever are, returning not smoke, but blood, and hate, and shame, and ridicule among the peoples of the earth, as fools who had not sense to keep what wise men got. All this, with incomes of the present and future generations carried to the pawnbroker's, is what is come or coming ; and it is for the commercial and suffering classes to consider (for they can be no worse for knowledge) whether this hopeless expenditure on worse than smoke, is not among the things which end by closing the work-shop, and taking the bowels out of the poor man's pie.

It may be inferred from the above, that wars, piratical as at Canton, or for the establishment of personal and religious slavery as in India, are among the grand agents in bringing about commercial distress, and carrying it under the roof of every working man. They are the fireworks which make no returns but smoke or worse. The pirates, or some of them, may make fortunes ; but there are no pirates at Bradford. It may be a dainty pleasure to blow a Mohammedan from a gun, and gloat over the effects produced on the complexions of his friends and relatives ; but Bradford has little or no share in the luxury. As far as Bradford is concerned, it is an unprofitable waste of gunpowder ; the operatives had rather see a sheep's head and trotters set before their children for their dinner, than hear of all the brains and bowels of the heathen, which are scattered to introduce Christianity " from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin." Not but that there may be some of them who have themselves to blame. I dare say there are some who have shouted for " the British lion." If so, they must fatten on their shouting. But it is hard that others should suffer for their amusement. Yet so it always is.

If men in general were wise, there seems no reason why wars and fightings for such objects should take place, any more than murders in a private family. By far the greater number of families expect to be found in a common grave, without anything like a murder being chargeable to their annals ; though as murders do and will occasionally happen, there is always a possibility that they might light in any given place. But murder is not the normal state. There have been those who maintained, that war is and ought to be the normal state of man ; " normal " meaning that it is the rule,

and the absence of it the exception. Examine these men, and you will find they have the same interest in the matter, that the receiver has in the robbery. Military establishments and their cost (but perhaps it will be said I am not a fair judge) are so much caution-money applied by civilized nations to prevent going to war with each other on frivolous pretexts. Perhaps they are like the small-swords our ancestors used to dangle at their heels, without which a man of standing did not think himself secure ; but which improving knowledge has shown may be dispensed with, for all purposes except court dress. At all events there would be every hope, that nations would gradually discover the possibility of mutually reducing these pledges to keep the peace. As the people get power in continental countries, they are very likely to find out, that the necessity for keeping two or three hundred thousand men in the state of private soldiers at the expense of the rest, is a thing to be inquired into. But at the present moment, the urgent point is to put a stop to fireworks directed against what are called the uncivilized, or in other words the weak. The *grande pensée* with the swell-mob of Europe at this moment, is to pillage the uncivilized ; and it is strange to see in what places they find allies. There is scarcely a mentionable class or rank in society, where you shall not find those willing to take shares in this great Joint-Stock Company. For all which, you will pay, and are paying now.

Under the same head of expenditure on fireworks, may be brought all unnecessary and unreasonable expenditure on their private pleasures by individuals. If one of your princes of industry raises up a fortune which gives employment to a score of parishes, and the son expends it on racing, dicing, and "strange women," is that anything but an expenditure on fireworks ?

The two therefore may be put together, and at least a strong presumption raised, that foolish expenditure, public and private, is at the bottom of the periodical appearance of commercial distress. A moderate, uniform quantity of folly, commerce might get on with ; but it is when men are seized with the mania of imitating some brute beast or other, and take leave of their wits, that the consequences show themselves in the shape of an epidemic, levelling the employer and the employed in one common danger.

Yours, &c.

23 December, 1857.



ON THE PROGRESS OF SPIRIT

XIX.

A PROGRESS object of interest at the present time, appears to be the shadow of a Eastern Fall. My hopes of anything immediate are not sanguine. There is an old proverb on the looseness of expecting time, which is very likely to be exemplified. Men have not to borrow a sectarian expression, "wait the season." There has not been what our ancestors of the Civil Wars were celebrated for taking together, under the title of "good counsel." When the subject was first mentioned in the present parliament, there was no leadership, or as good as none. What could be taken for it, amounted to a declaration of readiness to side with a minister under difficulties in consequence of his *conviction* on occasion of the Canton massacre, for any kind of promise, for any thing, it might be convenient to make or give. Nobody can doubt, that a pepper-corn would be absolution for anything on the Minister's conscience on that occasion. And then their conduct on the Princess's dowry. Was ever a father in his senses, known to say to a doubtful kind of son-in-law, "I cannot think of your taking any part of what you are to have from me, in the shape of annuity. I see an absolute necessity for your having all the principal at once, that you may have a fair chance to spend it, and send my daughter to me to keep." Without the slightest wish to disparage anybody, but on the contrary a strong sense of the policy of encouraging alliances among royal families in a greater or less degree supporters of liberal ideas in politics and in religion, and the use which statesmen worthy of the name might make of it in multiplying a network of something like constitutional monarchies throughout the world,—there was still a possibility, not perhaps to be inquired into by Lords of the Bedchamber, but which the leaders of rugged Radicals might have been pardoned for thinking of,—that the principal once given might be expended on regiments of cuirassiers and hussars, and our Princess sent back for parliament to endow over again. Such apprehensions would have been pardonable. And how and by what process of reasoning, such leadership as in the House of Commons appeared, was expended in praying that the foreign bridegroom might take all at once to save us trouble,—must be among the things unknown, till the doers explain it themselves. One of them being asked his reason, replied gloomily, that "it was because he chose." Such leadership is not inviting;

nobody will follow them. They will be "*cadogans*," as the French called the English cavalry horses when a Commander-in-Chief of that name left them without a tail.

The Chartists of course will show themselves in any coming agitation, as they have a right. If they have not the weight they might have had, it is because they have not done as they might. As one of the ten members of parliament who assisted in the publication of the Charter in June 1837, I have a claim to an opinion. Their error was in insisting on driving their five coaches through the gate abreast. It would not do to go in single file. Whether anybody put them on this maliciously, is not so clear; but it is not impossible. The same impolicy prevails among many who do not take the name. There are those who will not take the beef without the mustard, and those who will not take the mustard without the beef; not considering that to take each when they can get it, is the way to have both in the cupboard at once.

But a new and in some directions a more promising agitation has since displayed itself among the Working Classes; including, no doubt, to a great extent the same individuals as the old. The Chartists were under the disadvantage of being men agitating only for power to their class; but the Foreign Affairs Committees took the further step, of saying they would put themselves to school to learn how power should be used. And they will end, with the blessing of Providence, by giving a notable example and evidence, of where the soundest portion of a nation is to be looked for, and quashing once for all the superstition that *their* element is inferior to any other, for the composition of the mystery of government.

This change in the character under which the Working Classes present themselves, is favourable to their success, at a time when the world hardly knows whether there is such a thing as statesmanship, as distinguished from the blind leading the blind, to follow the dictates of brute instinct and unreasoning passions. The *Civis Romanus* (Roman citizen) is held up as the object of ambition to the population; and the Working Classes reply, that they do not want to be *Cives Romani*. The *Civis Romanus* was a bully and a blusterer, like the bucaniers who have wrested an empire from Britain in India, and a model one nation is as able to copy as another. The French from time to time have shown no want of talent in that line; the Russian and Austrian the same; the Turk has had his day; and America will not be behind when the time arrives. And so the world is to be filled with Bobadils, each strutting on his own walk where able, and leading shoals of simpletons to pay for his expenses.

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Though this may all be very gratifying,—to those who are to be gratified,—the Working Classes in England have clearly conceived of a more excellent way. Plunging back, according to their ability, into the records of the past, they have fished up the idea, that there once were men who made a study and a science of a Law intended to act on the community of nations, as municipal law on the actions of individuals. This might tend to the suffocation of much glorious brutality, and be very hostile to the pleasures of the revolver and the human battue; just as in a small way municipal law is a check on the splendors of the cattle-stealer and the rider of the heath. But there are those base enough to rejoice in both. The world must not retrograde if it can be helped. It might be a fine thing to live when an Erymanthean boar was to be met whenever a man showed his head abroad, and every village had its Cacus dragging his neighbours' oxen backwards by the tail. But we cannot afford to breed boars and brigands, for the satisfaction of putting them down. The Working Classes in particular, have no partiality for such unprofitable cattle. They have heard of International Law, and suspect there might be a management of Foreign Affairs for the happiness of nations. They are anxious to improve their knowledge of what has been, as the means of enabling them to influence what is to come. They are on a better scent than the expectants from Arbitration Treaties; except so far as one is only a name for the other. The old theory of International Law was nothing but the science of preventing wars by mutual understanding to enforce a rule. When the object is to prevent individuals from fighting about each other's property, the course taken is by improving the ancient law.

It will be difficult to keep men out of the pale of the Constitution, who know not only the way to power, but the way to use it afterwards.

Yours, &c.

30 December, 1857.



ON THE PROSPECTS OF REFORM, (CONTINUED). WHAT HAS BEEN THE LAST YEAR'S WORK?

XXX.

I PROCEED to repeat the invitation to those of the Working Classes who proclaim their attention to Foreign Affairs, to take a sound view of the position before them, and see all its advantages and difficulties, with the eyes of men who have studied the lessons of experience, and mean to do it again.

It is not a thing to be accomplished to-day, nor to-morrow ; but a thing to be thought of on all days, and strengthened by the accumulation of all that is passing before us, and all that is evidently coming.

The cat in the fable had a single talent which stood her in stead, when all the fox's arts could not save him from being torn to pieces in her sight. When Working Men want to know whether a public act is right or wrong, let them simply compare it with the rules they have been in the habit of practising towards one another ; remembering the great Statesman who said, that nothing which is morally wrong can ever be politically right. For example, in the case of Oude (where the Working Classes under the denomination of Foreign Affairs Committees were the first to draw attention to an enormity of which the consequences are in the picture not yet unrolled), ministers, millionnaires, preachers, "church, army, physic, law," could see nothing but an opportunity for making gain by the robbery on many highways at once, which men call conquest. The Working Classes alone (at least of classes), compared it with their rule. And now when the country has broken into one universal yell for massacre and murder by soldier-executioner or executioner-soldier,—when all remembrance that there will be a posterity as well as other nations who will severely judge, is cast off like the notion of a God,—the Working Classes are found at their post, coolly comparing the thing that is, with the thing that common sense would direct ; sane among the insane ; statesmen in fustian jackets whom future times will set up in sarcasm by the side of the statesmen in court dress ; moralists without prebends ; lawyers without fees, but intending to set up a law which shall give every man his own and keep it.

What is this conquest, to which all happiness, all comfort, all self-respect are to be sacrificed ? Is it anything but felony on a large scale, and why are we to contribute to large-scale felonies ? Assuredly we will not if we can help it, and not a bit further than we cannot help it. We pray God to remember us, and to bear in mind, it may be, when the days of punishment come, that at all events we went out at the door unto them, and shut the door after us, and said "We pray you, brethren, do not so wickedly." This is as much as can be expected of the negroes of the constitution. When we have more power, we will make use of it ; till when, the Lord will hold us harmless.

And now deliberately, is it within the compass of reasonable expectation, that a country which trains its military to be

butchers and executioners in foreign lands, and encourages them to threaten to turn against their own officers if checked in the gratification of their evil passions,—is there one shadow of support in human history, for setting up the remotest chance that such a country should maintain a place among what are denominated free communities? What was the training of Kirk and Claverhouse's men compared with these? They never hanged the wounded, nor blew their prisoners from guns. Though bad enough, they were comparatively civil gentlemen; but did not everybody believe this kind of thing was gone by for ever? That same murdering of prisoners, is the besetment of the English military; and they are encouraged to it by a sanguinary press at home, which again (unless there are great mistakes abroad) is directed by members of the Government which rules under the title of British lion. Sad times will be when the time comes, for you and me and all of us, who would not worship the image of the beast, nor receive his mark in our foreheads.

The opening of the new year tempts irresistibly to comparisons. Last year at this time, England stood honoured in the sight of God and man. There appeared to have been given to her an interminable mission, to spread honest commerce and the blessings it brings in its train, through regions Cæsar never knew. Perhaps the honest and the good were too much elevated by the prospect; perhaps they trusted too much to the defeats which slavery and buccaneering had received in various quarters of the globe, and said in their hearts "We sit as a queen, and shall see no sorrow." It has pleased heaven to call on them to win the battle over again. They knew not the pertinacity of evil, nor were prepared for the convulsive efforts wickedness can make. At this time last year, commerce was flourishing, peace and prosperity seemed to have taken the world under their wing. In India was a vast dominion such as history had never told of, where men of strange tongues and strange faith were cementing fast in voluntary union, under what, with many faults, was on the whole a beneficent government. It was a fine idea the old mercantile rulers of India went upon, and worthy of the plain sagacity of commercial men, that the country should be governed through its own inhabitants, and as a pledge of this, the arms should be in the hands of its own offspring. The Native Army was the Magna Charta, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights of India; so long as this army was maintained, and treated with honour and veracity, the population might feel secure. The native soldier was brave, loyal, and

deeply attached to his officers and to everything that was English. Neither in kilts nor bearskins, had the British Crown more devoted followers. There was no country and no clime, where, with the ordinary precaution of dealing honestly with men on the terms of their enlistment, these troops have not gone or were not ready to go. They were in Egypt, and ought to have been in the Crimea. There was only one way in which this state of things could be shaken ; and that was, by treacherously attacking them on the ground of their religion. It was tried, and they were attacked accordingly ; treacherously, basely, cruelly, in a way to unite God and honest man in demonstrating a non-complicity. The sensible and wise commercial rulers had always said " Let India be India. Consent to allow us to keep it, as it has been kept before. Do not encourage the introduction of European settlers ; if you do, they will introduce the war of races, and we shall be all blown up together." Great and able men, whom the magnitude of the Company's concerns attracted to their service, maintained the same. But all this was set at naught ; and to deride and decry it now, is the amusement of the insane press which governs England. A race of men was multiplied in India, whom their own press delights to describe as resembling the planters of Virginia ; reckless, prodigal, unscrupulous, possessed with one leading idea, which is that they must trample on everything with darker complexions than their own. These men gradually got head, and had great success in bringing over the military to their side. Between them and the military was virtually concocted the superseding of the Civil Government, and the reduction of the Native Indians to a servile class. By degrees they got the crow-bar under the Civil Government. They did not make profession of open resistance ; but they found the means of thwarting and overbearing it. Their attack was directed on the religious observances of the Native Army. They said " An enlisted soldier is no soldier at all, if he will not taste swine's flesh or put anything else into his mouth his officer bids him. To enlist men under a compact to allow them their religion, was a folly, and therefore we will break it." They tried their disgraceful game ; and they lost India.

It is wonderful, how individuals of no small mark and influence, smarting under the destruction of cherished temporal prospects, and some of them the remembrance of loved relatives and children sacrificed in the progress of this base design, so quietly allow themselves to be made accomplices in the evil. If a man sees his child gored to death by cattle the

brutal drover has impelled to madness, does he say baby-like "O naughty oxen!", or does he take by the throat the reprobate who was the author of the mischief, and demand the blood of the loved one at his hands?

If the ingenuity of collected man were set to work to settle the means of most extensively multiplying the mischief, and raising the arms and hearts of two hundred millions in support of the Native Army, it could no further go. No stone has been left unturned, which could conduce to that result; and all the time, the know-nothing or deceptive government at home has been holding out assurance that the population was not concerned. If two-thirds of your own army were ordered to be massacred, would the population be not concerned; would not each private leave half-a-dozen to take up his cause? We are mocked and attempted to be made fools of. Other nations are not to be so led by the nose; how long will it be before the French are found massacring their "*Indigènes*"?

A cool, regular system has been acted on, for telling the Indian population it is intended to reduce them to negro slavery and they have no resource but to die in the last ditch. The Civil Government is set at defiance, and the army is in round terms invited to "mutiny"* in case of opposition from that quarter or from its officers. If I am not mistaken, the same spirit is already visible in your streets. Friends and foes, wealthy and poor, are to be treated alike; and there seems to be a fixed determination to bring out the rupees from the Indian banker's coffers, in aid of the matchlock of the cultivator of the ground. In every direction the thing is put in print, both there and here. The great source of complaint and horror, is that an Indian should hold any office of magistracy. That an Indian-born should hold office, is gall and wormwood to the buccaneers who have seized the reins in India, as to a Virginian planter it would be to be summoned before a coloured magistrate for breaking the peace. They are grievously discontented with the consequences; as if all magistracy was not established, that three-fourths of those who come before it should go away discontented. Your friends will remember the published plan for ejecting Indians from their domiciles by the insertion of a pig. A complaint from Bombay is almost equally illustrative; and Bombay was a peaceable honest place, till the present inundation of barbarians. It seems there is a Green, or vacant piece of ground, which the Native bankers and merchants, acting under an idea that they were in some sort the owners, chose

to devote to pigeon-fancying, and they are declared to have spent £4000 on this harmless fantasy. A European boy was brought before an English magistrate for killing one of the pigeons with a stone; and the magistrate,—O horror!—fined the boy to the amount of six shillings, and declared—the imbecile—that the English law protected animals as well as men. At this the buccaneers are furious. They say it is a sacrifice to Native feelings; and moreover pigeon-fancying is idolatrous. Who is to keep an Empire, in the teeth of men like these?

At other times they thrust into our faces the delights of courts of murderers, where the judge acts as hangman with his own hands, and the executioner stands knotting his cord during the consideration of the verdict.† And this they compare sarcastically with the weary processes of English law, and the great pains which are taken with us before any of us are hanged. All this is what you are coming to, if nobody plucks up the heart to oppose.

A twelvemonth ago, the dead were alive, and England was an inhabitable country. Since then, living in it has been made nauseous. All places smell of hangman, it is everywhere the same tang; we might as well be hooped up with the body of a deceased felon on a gibbet of the olden style. How much mischief a few low and brutal men, when allowed to get to the top of things, can accomplish!

One word. Out of all this, will come more. Take care that you are not taken unawares.

Yours, &c.

6 January, 1858.

HOW TO LOSE AN EMPIRE.

XXXI.

THERE is scarcely a limit to what may be accomplished by human skill, if only men go the right way about it. There is no house but might be set on fire, with sufficient pains and concentration of goodwill; no ship but might be sunk, if competent exertions were made by the inmates to find the rocks and run upon them. At the same time none of these experimentalists will be the worse for some assistance from without; the most effectual way of rendering which, is to assure them that it will be held highly unbecoming to ask questions as to how the thing came about.

The case of India was an extreme one of this nature. The

difficulties were so great and the chances of failure so many, as might have appalled any but men of that determined mould which goes by the name of heroism. A single man of cool head and not initiated into the plan, might have put an extinguisher on the whole in an early stage, and exposed the adventurers to the ridicule which attaches to unsuccessful energy. The government at home might have asked them what all this was for ; instead of comforting them with the declaration that they should be supported and no questions put. The devoutly disposed might have expressed their dislike of some of the results, instead of rushing to the churches to beg a blessing on what they were going to receive. The stratagem, not discoverable in Frontinus, of declaring themselves the victims of unnatural practices by the enemy, might have failed, and left no proceeds from this improvement in the art of war, except the laughter of Europe. The accomplice-dupes who swallowed these stories, might have been busy sucking their thumbs, or other innocent infantine employment, and so the whole might have fallen to the ground. These, and many more, were the risks and dangers which the adventurers were under obligation to encounter.

There were also many sources of danger in England, which it required courage to face. The professed opponents of war in general, were sure to take up the subject, and do their utmost towards procuring it to be sifted in every quarter where there was a disposition to do it ; and though their opinions may not be prevalent to their full extent beyond the limits of their own respected Society, their influence on the public at large is prodigious, so far as exciting a spirit of inquiry into the necessity of any given case. The Anti-slavery Society, however the tone of their Wilberforces and Broughams may have been beaten down, were likely to spring up with youthful vigour, whenever they became possessed of the gigantic plan for massacring or sending to West Indian slavery hundreds of thousands of enlisted soldiers of the Crown, because their presence was a sort of constitutional guarantee that their countrymen should not be reduced to the condition of the negroes in Virginia. It was reasonable to suppose that some time might elapse, before this hideous conception of the most enormous crime ever planned by the corruption of the human heart, could, as the Transatlantic phrase is, be "realized" in England. But it was sure to come at last ; and no pains were taken in India, to be economical of the proofs. The Aborigines Societies too, whose dream had been of extending English liberty and commerce among the children of

Him who made of one blood all the nations of the earth, found themselves rudely put down by an outburst of "the peculiar institution." It is true that even now, these several classes and interests can hardly be said to have got one eye open. They consist of the classes sometimes defined as the respectable; and the respectable are not forward in facing either maniacs or lions. The fear of the wild-beast that is abroad, will weigh heavy on them for some time yet; but they have all shown upon occasion, that when they had time to collect their thoughts, they could move. Their apathy has been counted on, and with some success; but the time will come, when they will say like Bunyan's hero, "Rejoice not over me, O mine enemy," and stretch out the hand to the weapon they have used before.

Many in these classes belong also to what denominates itself the religious world. And the religious world has always been open to the temptation, which acted upon Las Casas and multitudes of other well-meaning men, of encouraging slavery or some close approximation to it, for the sake of the command it might finally give over the religion of the servile race. The Jesuits tried this on a large scale in Paraguay; and has the result been to make good Jesuits? It is a snare of Satan, they may depend upon it; and the wiser of them will resist till he flee from them, though some may fail.

There was a historical parallel too, and at no remote period, which might easily have been looked to, as portending danger. The annexation of Oude was the literal copy of the French occupation of Spain, with the exception that the members of the Spanish royal family were not murdered under trust. And what came of the French occupation of Spain? If there be sense in man, if there be in human nature a faculty to warn against laying hold of a heated iron because it burnt somebody else before, there ought to be the power to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the perils which environ the nation that runs mad after deeds of felony and blood, and the sure retribution which, without any miracle, presents itself at the end.

These were some of the sources from which danger might be apprehended; but on the other hand there were encouraging tokens in the sky. Periodical literature had teemed with exciting adventures for the training of British youth, the romance of which turned on what was poetically denominated "raising hair," meaning the scalping of an aboriginal. Little boys read with wondering delight, how a hunter in Africa, not having God's own image to practise on, took a half-reasoning elephant, and tried the experiment of how many

balls he could send through various parts of its body without destroying life. Men came back from the Crimea, bearing proudly on their faces the barbarism the civilizer of the Russian empire had run risks to efface from the countenances of his boors. More than all, a weapon had been invented in America, which multiplied sixfold the powers of the assassin and the buccaneer, and formed the most inviting instrument for British magistrates economically combining the offices of judge and hangman, and pressed for time in their awkward attempts at strangulation*. "Send me out a revolver, Mamma," was the burden of every cadet's first letter to his family at home; and parental partiality applauded the precocious promise of its offspring. All this was to a great extent foreseen and counted on. It was known too, that the opposition between the military and the Civil Government had worn down the efficiency of the latter, and particularly had succeeded in removing the checks to violence, which consist in appeal from men in heat and passion to cooler heads behind. All this was done under the name of "vigour." It has been said that all establishments die of dignity; many die of vigour, which is only another name, and the vigour of the unwise is a razor brandished by an infant. But this too, was a thing to be counted upon; and many more there were, which might be anticipated with hope. It is plain the conspirators all along had a strong conviction that they should find support at home. They could not absolutely tell that "Punch" would put out poetry worthy of the Devil's laureate if he keeps one; or that "Household Words" would write up to them, in the shape of imaginary soldiers, in a duplicate romance on the other side the world,—kicking people over the ship's side "without exactly knowing why, except that it was the right thing to do," and unable to endure "a Native in any form except an oyster;" or that the purveyors of picture-books for infantine amusement would instil the young idea with the pleasure of blowing Victoria's honourable soldiers from a gun. All this they could not absolutely know; but they saw enough to make them confident, and unhappily they were right.

Everything they did, showed the determination to lose an Empire, with a consciousness of the difficulty of the task. Suppose the same kind of plan on foot in any portion of the British Islands; and what pains-taking men they would be, who would invent seizing on Cardinal So-and-So in one part, or a leading Presbyterian in another, and putting him to torture till he did something which he believed would damn his soul, and great odds if they did not expect the thanks of

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Parliament. Imagine other ingenious gentlemen, selecting a leading elder, or a popular director of consciences in the Roman church, and picking out a particularly revolting character to hang him, not discerning how much better the end would have been compassed by the judge's doing it himself. And all this with the declared object, of dinning into the universal population, that the attack was on their religion and nothing else, and that they must make up their minds to apostatize or march upon Lucknow. Hath the world seen such maniacs? The goose and the goat the Crusaders put at the head of their columns, were politicians and warriors in comparison.

Nobody is better aware of the tendencies of these kinds of things, than those who have been to some extent behind the curtain. Does anybody who knows the nature of men with muskets in their hands, feel any doubt of what all this must come to? You see the progress in your streets; but wait till you see some of the "avenging column" among you, and then do not blame the poor men, who have been put up to mischief by their betters. When the private in the regular army is invited in express terms to "mutiny" if his officers attempt to restrain his violence, it is no wonder the militia-man feels some touch of the same aspirations. Every raw recruit, before he has well learnt his facings, will conceive that "the spirit of the immortal gods is in him," and as the ancient Germans debated public questions once drunk and once sober, will heroically volunteer to perform the first portion of the process.

If all this will not lose an Empire abroad and end in civil war at home, set it down as hopeless, like the man who snapped his pistol seven times at his own head and could not make it go off.

Yours, &c.

14 January, 1858.

DOES ENGLAND DESIRE TO BE RULED BY MARTIAL LAW?

XXXII.

SINCE the Recorder of Birmingham (a known and honoured name) appears to be the only member of the legal profession who has taken alarm at the progress made in comparing the advantages of military law with the disadvantages of civil, it is time for the men who are not lawyers to bestir themselves,

as being those who are to be what may be called the patients, when the improved regimen (or regiment as John Knox would have called it) comes here.

Our fathers suffered sorely under the firm of Kirk and Jeffreys. But those eminent men, notwithstanding their partnership, maintained what Adam Smith afterwards brought into great note under the title of the division of labour. Kirk did the business in the field, and Jeffreys swept up anything he left. But there is no accredited instance of Jeffreys hanging any man with his own hand. He is proved to have made horrible faces on the bench ; as evidenced by the witness who finally recognized him in sailor's disguise. But nobody ever said of him, that he came down from the bench, and seized on a prisoner, and then and there knotted a rope, and cast it round the prisoner's neck, and with or without the professional science of fitting it to the ear, forced the man with a pistol at his head, into the position desirable for consummation of the judicial orgasm. This was reserved for judges and magistrates in India ;—if anybody does not like it, why do not they say so ? It is there on record, under the judge and magistrate's own hand, not coyly or in the manner of one who would "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame," but with an open fair demand to thrust it into the face of every brother judge and every brother magistrate in England, and say Look here, and see how we improve by crossing of the Line*.

The invention is so admirable, notwithstanding its opposition to the dull rules of Political Economy, that it can never be made too much of. It ought to be represented on the stage ; why, for instance, does not Astley's change the "Spectre Bride" for the "Hangman Judge ?" It would be the finest lesson in the world, for little boys and prentices in the Christmas holidays. The grimaces of the prisoner might be made amusing to all of Christian feelings, in the hands of the successor of the lamented Grimaldi ; and a Mr. O. Smith, who is great in the devil incarnate, would be effective in the character of the hero. I would not venture on saying, whether it would be justifiable or not, to dress him in the costume of a judge or magistrate at home ; because it is not certain that judges in India are accurate in such matters. I have seen one that was, and very odd he looked. But with or without, a judge is a judge ; and if anybody feels distressed at hearing of the new fusion of offices, they ought to say so, and not leave the Recorder of Birmingham to be the Cassandra of our Troy.

There ought to be a rigid prohibition by Act of Parliament, of any judge acting as executioner, or executioner as judge ; with a double penalty on putting a prisoner to death by two ways at once, as for instance hanging him first and shooting him after†, or *vice versa*. Ancient statutes prevented a manufacturer from selling his own goods by retail ; and it is at least of equal importance, that the pronouncer and finisher of the law, should not eat with the same set of teeth.

The reasons for preferring the administration of what is called military law, as promulgated by the Indian press and echoed by the vast majority of the press at home, may be stated as the following.

1. That prisoners tried by the so-called military law, have done their best to prevent the production of evidence ; and therefore it is proper they should be condemned without evidence. And this the civil courts will not do.

2. That the courts under the so-called law, have means of extorting evidence, which the civil have not. For instance, they can introduce the executioner knotting his rope at the seat of judgment‡, or the judge with his revolver may threaten any man who does not like being hanged ; all of which has great effect in breaking down confederacy among the accused to withhold evidence against themselves or one another. It is known by the experience of eminent British officers, that a man may be made by torture to damn his own soul ; much more may he be made by fear to say or unsay anything that may be required of him. Which is an advantage of these courts.

3. That they have means of creating evidence and acting on it, which the civil courts would decline. For instance a prisoner suspected of having belonged to the army appointed for massacre, may be taken suddenly with the word of command "Attention !" and if this through habit produces any show of recognition, the court will nod to the executioner to take him on his file§. Think of a Scotch or Irish man suspected of having belonged to a regiment which refused to trample on the Cross, being tried with this kind of Shibboleth. How pleasant !

4. That civil courts are a dull and edgeless instrument, incapable of acting under a press of business. There would be no use in asking a court at York, to send men by forties or by hundreds to be drawn up in line and put to death in the Castle Yard.** York would not stand it ; and if it did, the machinery for murder would be utterly clogged up and powerless. No ordinary butcher can kill above a dozen beasts

a-day ; there was one of extraordinary powers who said in evidence that he had killed a hundred a-week, but even *he* would be no supply in comparison of the demand. It must be clear to everybody, that the faculties of a civil court are entirely of an inferior order.

This is the case against the Civil Courts. But there is a point after all against this so-called military law, and that is, that it is no law at all ; that it is authorized by no public act, nor by any of the forms the community has agreed to reverence. On a not very remote occasion when the subject was mooted in the House of Commons, a popular leader of considerable standing said "Military Law was the absence of Law." In which I should have agreed with him in everything but the conclusion he seemed to draw, which was that it was therefore the thing that ought to be, and not the thing that ought to be put down with the strong hand in the same way as other pests of humanity. The truth is that what is thus called military law is a falsehood, a quibble, a trick ; and the wonder is that men professing conscience, and still more honour, will submit to be the instruments. An Act is passed annually to punish enlisted soldiers for profane language and other crimes necessary to be suppressed, and then this Act is pretended to be applied, to the slaughter of prisoners who never were enlisted soldiers of any kind, cultivators perhaps of the ground rising in resistance to intolerable injustice and cruelty like those of the French invasion of Spain ; and men who expect to sit at good men's feasts, coolly do their share, and wipe their mouths and say they have done no wrong. There will be no end of it till the members of some pretended court of this kind hold up their hands for murder ; as will be done the first time the tables in the course of Providence are turned upon them.

Spain reminds me, that in complimenting the French on what they did not do, I referred to Oude when it ought to have been Delhi. If anybody did not get his due,—as the judge said when he forgot to sentence a prisoner—"I beg his pardon."

If there be any such thing as profiting by history,—if children learn to walk by noting when and how they have fallen in times past,—it must be needless to impress how certain all these events are to have their rebound and counterpart at home. When the waters of the deep have been attracted piece-meal to follow the moon as lunatics are supposed to do on land, it would be unreasonable to expect they should not burst somewhere and on somebody, in the shape of an over-

whelming tide. Just as impossible is it, that when ninety-nine hundredths of the population have run madly after the jack o'lantern of military execution, it should not finally break upon such portions of the community, as from causes at the time shall be most exposed. Men who have had blood every day at breakfast for a twelvemonth, cannot leave it off for being bid.

Yours, &c.

21 January, 1858.

ON CENTRALIZATION.

XXXIII.

THERE is no subject on which more has been said and sung by the advanced portion of professing Liberals, than what they have named Centralization. By this they mean doing everything by direction from one central authority, instead of leaving the settlement of affairs to a number of authorities, scattered on different points within the circle, each settling for the most part for themselves, but sometimes checking or hindering one another.

Is this, then, a good, or is it an evil ; or to go more directly to the point, when is it a good and when is it an evil ?

Nobody doubts that, for instance, the Post is better managed by a Central Office in the metropolis, than it would be by a volunteer post-master in each of the post towns framing his own regulations and following his own devices. This then is a case where centralization is a good.

But it does not follow it would be better a Central Office should be set up in London, for choosing the Mayor and Aldermen, and appointing Chambers of Commerce to give the Minister the benefit of echoing the Minister's opinions. This would clearly be a case where the centralization was better let alone.

Indeed in all matters connected with legislation and government, the evidence is strong that not centralization, but dispersion over the circle, is the thing wanted. What is called for distinction the executive, may demand a promptitude of action where there is not time for lengthier councils ; but in everything that admits of delay, caution and the moderation which comes by the clashing of different interests and hearing of different opinions, are precisely what make the difference between a well governed country and an ill. There is in all countries a party, who are in love with a splendid tyranny, as

hoping themselves to be its splendid instruments. But this party can scarcely be said to be predominant anywhere; and least of all in England, unless when acting under some access of what a coroner's inquest would denominate temporary insanity.

What are Courts of Law for, or Houses of Lords or Commons, but to give the poor working bees the chance of both sides being heard, before they are punished, or taxed, or otherwise unpleasantly dealt with? There are some who would abolish juries, to centralize in the wisdom of the judge; or leave legislation to the inspiration of some man of right divine, or might equivalent, and get rid of the circuitous encumbrances which have caused parliaments to take their name from parleying. Boys frequently have bright ideas of this sort; they have not had time to read the evidence.

The general conclusion with grave men will be, that the fear of centralization is an honest fear, and that centralization is only to be licensed where the necessity for it is demonstrated.

The question at this moment takes a shape of overwhelming importance, because there is just now brought before the country the most gigantic scheme of Centralization in the hands of the Minister for the time being, which imagination could portray. It was tried three quarters of a century ago, under a very popular and able minister, and utterly shattered and defeated so soon as it came to be understood; the reigning sovereign presenting himself as file-leader in the opposition, and all the sensible friends of public liberty helping to swell his train. And now, in these days of fancied advance of all kinds, a minister attempts the same thing under cover of an attempt to rule by the "British lion," which means the unreasoning passions of the community, in opposition to all by which man should be distinguished from the beasts of the field. The massacre of the unoffending Cantonese with the felonious object of forcing the trade in opium, first gave the taste of blood; the massacre of the Indian Native army, the greatest cess-pool of infamy into which any nation has ever been plunged, was the natural continuation of the relish. Here was the opportunity for renewing the attempt of 1783. It was supposed that a mad people, drunk with the blood of a religious war, and fresh from doing its best to hold forth its Christianity as an execrably bad Paganism, would never stop at anything that the caterers for its insane frolic would propose. It remains to be seen whether there was not an error in the computation, and too ready an assumption of the degradation of christened men.

Every smatterer in the Natural History of public liberty, knows that its existence has always depended on a division of powers. The world, at least the British part of it, is too old to set up a single power and say, "Now mind you are very good!" It has much more hope from keeping open the possibility of checking a power when it gives it room for doubt. The special object of jealousy has always been, what our ancestors called the power of the Crown, but the happier circumstances of later times have taught men to call the power of the Minister. It was the power of government in whatsoever hands, to originate and pursue destructive courses, through the application of the means at the disposal of the government for the time being. And the chief instrument for exerting this power, was clearly in the faculty of appointing to offices. Hence when our fathers of two-and-a-half centuries ago began to stretch out their hands towards a domination in the East of interminable magnitude, they did not ask the government to send out a government expedition and pave the way for filling the Eastern world with ministerial placemen. They asked leave to form a commercial body, appointing its own agents and its own officers. Here then, whether the consequences were altogether foreseen or not, was a provision worthy of wise men, for making the very thing your babes in politics, or rather I am afraid your wolves in sheep's clothing, exclaim against as a double government. They made a double government, because none in their wits would have had a single. And now because it suits certain bad specimens of humanity to think a single government would answer better for massacring the Native Army and enslaving the Indian population, they bawl for the single government, *and taking the wrong half*. It is simply because the commercial governors had kept things straight and gone the way to continue it, that the men who have blown up the whole concern, cry out for their removal. It is as if a few unprincipled workmen in one of your large factories, had at great pains succeeded in setting fire to the whole, and then went about exclaiming that it was the "traditional policy" of seeing all lights out at night, which had done the mischief. It is a battle between honest commercial men and those who are neither. And you of the manufacturing districts ought to have the genius to take up the quarrel.

What evidence have the commercial men who ruled India given of their unfitness? They always leaned with all their might against the courses which have ended in the nation's everlasting shame. No plan for murdering their

enlisted soldiers on the heels of a religious persecution, ever proceeded from them. The misdeeds occurring in their country, at least in later times, were not theirs, but those of the Board of Control, which was the name for the ministerial machine by which they were being overlaid.

Planters, and newspapers under their guidance like our blood-drinking press at home, were the active instruments in the mischief on the spot. The planters of the East and of the West understand one another; and the rusty whips of fifty years ago are taken down in Demerara, in hopes of being applied to the Queen's enlisted soldiers treacherously sent to slavery. And still we have well-meaning men who cry, "More planters, and more planter's press;" as Morison of pills, when a patient died under his medicine, always laid it on not having taken enough.

An instance of the operations of these blood-hunters, has just now appeared. A corps of what were called volunteers, proceeded to enforce the disarming of certain Native soldiers; and when these last had laid down their arms as ordered, the volunteers began to fire on them, and their commandant tried to stop them. For this he is fiercely arraigned by the planter's press*. And he replies in his defence, that after the Native troops had laid down their arms and were standing quietly without any intent of trying to get away, the volunteer corps began "to take pot shots at them at nine or ten yards," whereupon the natives tried to save their lives by flight, and many were in this way lost. Perhaps some of our friends unused to the sports of the field, may not know what is meant by "pot shots." It is when a man puts the muzzle of his gun to a hare sitting, or shoots at partridges in a crowd upon the ground, in a way which shows a simple desire to kill for the pot. Shall we ever get over having been born in the same country with these men?

To return to Bradford,—does not everybody in their turn complain of the overbearing weight of the ministerial hand; and will you go for increasing it? Is there not trouble enough with men who want places in the Excise and in the Post-office, without adding those who would be delighted to do anything they could in return for a little place of which there must be so many in India? The Army has been a subject of jealousy. Luckily we had two Armies, and one was at the disposal of our rich commercial classes. This is to be done away with, lest you should at some time have a double government when you are wanted to be "hanged like fun."

Finally, if there be any sense, any wisdom, any capacity

for seeing a pit before you walk into it, bestir yourselves while there is a chance, for opposing the most monstrous act of centralization ever conceived. And do not stop short of securing what must be done to be effective. Nothing will be competent to any ultimate success, but going against the whole power which has embodied itself under the cry of the British lion, to carry its own ends in the excitement. It was to get two governments for one minister, that the Canton massacre was supported. The proffer of Reform is a bait which will mislead some, but not all. Wise fish will take the bait off the hook if they can, and wag their tails at the tempter.

Yours, &c.

27 January, 1868.



USE AND MISUSE OF CREDIT.

XXXIV.

As this is a subject attracting notice at the present moment, and which has been taken up by valued friends at Bradford, I feel desirous to contribute to the inquiry, not as being any master of the question, but rather in the spirit of Dr. Priestley when he said, "I wanted to know something about Electricity, so I wrote a book."

What nobody can help feeling in the outset, is that credit may be a good, and credit may be an evil. That is to say, it may be a good to a certain extent or in certain circumstances, and an evil in others.

If you or I, being men living within our incomes or commercial capabilities, ask what is at all events one fair use of credit, it is that we should be allowed to run up a bill for groceries or as the case may be, without being obliged to send fourpence every time we desire some small accession to our cupboard. And even if this goes on till Christmas, there is no harm done, provided we prove, as I trust we shall, good men at Christmas. And if the grocer at his annual settling extends his confidence to giving us his receipt on our sending him a cheque on a banker, there is still no mischief done, provided said banker is prepared to answer to the call.

So far, there is nothing but a very healthy use of credit. But widely different would the case be, if we gave a cheque beyond our standing in the banker's books, and told our tradesman he had only to pass the cheque to his wholesale sugar-merchant, and all would be right. From the moment this counsel was given and taken, would be the beginning of

a system which, however long it might go on, could plainly first or last end in nothing, but somebody's losing the value of the sugar we had eaten.

There may be no denying, that if we were in the position last described, we should be under temptation to desire the continued circulation of our cheques. We might be in hopes, like Mr. Micawber, that "something would turn up" which should enable us to pay them, and thereon be tempted to go on ordering our lamb chops. But the furnisher of these viands, if he knew our situation, would not feel complimented by the preference given him. He might have a distant idea of the possibility of passing our dubious paper to another hand; but he would feel a strong sensation of danger nevertheless. There is a certain degree of possibility that Mr. Micawber's expectations might be realized. But it is very little this chance would fetch in open market.

A more substantial plea perhaps is, that many a man has derived great final good, both to himself and others, from a judicious use of credit in his early days. A man at starting may have received fifty pounds from the benevolence of an uncle, and this, skilfully and fortunately used, may have led to the establishment of great concerns, and the creation of great wealth. The answer to which appears to be, that this is something very distinct from the encouragement of a vague and general system of credit, under the idea that it is the creation of wealth. Wherever such encouragement has taken place, it is a serious question whether commercial explosions are not a sort of necessary consequence. Add to which, that in all the cases where the uncle's benevolence has been successful, it will be found there have been great caution and economy, joined to a degree of luck. The distinction too is wide, between the benevolence of the uncle, and a general system of loose dealing. The uncle is in a certain state of preparation for a total loss, and takes care that the loss shall not extend beyond his ability to bear. There are very few instances of uncles ruined by such benevolences; many are the men brought to grief by the failure of those they have rashly credited in what they thought promising commercial speculations.

The case of a commercial man in fact is hard. He must either speculate or not speculate. He wants to raise himself in the world, and he sees not how he is to do it unless he trusts himself on the ocean of speculation. His case resembles that of the sailor. There are risks in everything and everywhere; he must either put to sea and take these risks, or he

must stay at home. But there are prudent risks and imprudent. There is such a thing as going into danger with a full knowledge of where the danger lies, and there is doing it blindly and unpreparedly. The man who goes to sea in a sound vessel and keeps a good look-out, in a great majority of cases comes back with success. The man who does the contrary, is very apt to be left behind. As it would be a long business to write a treatise on the art of seamanship, so it would be to attempt to enter into particulars on the subject of trade. But it may still be useful to point out that there is a clue, and that it is within the reach of the concerned to do something towards following it up. What is wanted, is a general system of caution, and resistance to the idea that loose credit is a public good. At the same time it would be very unjust to infer, that those on whom the tower in Siloam falls, were the guilty parties. The man who finds bad shillings in his purse, is not the coiner.

The comparison with navigation, seems capable of frequent application. One lesson it might teach, is to beware of times of supposed prosperity. The seaman almost knows, that after fair weather will come foul. And he is never more prepared to shorten sail, than when the wind of prosperity is strengthening to a gale. Excitement produces competition, and competition recklessness. And he that most gives way to these, is most likely to be found in danger in the end.

These are no more than the observations impressed by general facts. They make no pretension to acquaintance with details; but the best acquainted may find use in refreshing their familiarity with principles.

Yours, &c.

3 February, 1858.



RE-ASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT.—CONSPIRACY BILL.—LETTER
OF "JUDEX."—OATHS BILL.

XXXV.

ON Thursday 4 February, according to announcement the two Houses returned to their occupations. In the Commons there was not much for observation, except the wonderful manner in which the Conservatives brought up the lower box of their eloquence, on occasion of a dispute upon some alterations in a motion by General Evans for the production of some Indian letters. Their orators could make an Epic in prose, on any one of the nine hundred and ninety-nine angels that

can dance on the point of a needle. Those who are so great in little things, leave themselves no room for being greater in things of more moment. Their auditor settles down into tolerance of talk, as at a dull play where he steels his heart against the sorrows of the heroine.

On Friday were two occurrences possessing interest. In a debate on a Bill for allowing the East India Company to raise money, the promoters of which had taken considerable pains to wrap up the question of what might be its bearing on future intentions, an eminent member on the government side, without the excuse of having his head in the lap of any Delilah, in the glee of his heart let out the intimation that in a short time "the East India Company would be matter of history." The public therefore are fore-armed; and if they submit quietly to the huge act of centralization avowedly in progress, and which their forefathers with the king at their head so conspicuously defeated,—all that is left is to hope that when the consequences come upon them like an armed man, they will copy the equanimity of the Spanish patriot and reformer, who said to his followers who murmured as they were led to execution the day after a battle, "Yesterday was the time for the courage of gentlemen; to-day there is nothing but the resignation of Christians."

The notice of a Bill on the subject of conspiracies to murder, led to some bitter observations on the present holder of power in France. No man is less disposed than myself to take his part; but I doubt whether when one half the British army is engaged in massacring the other half, is the time for raising the bristles against foreigners. If anybody does not like the position, they must settle accounts with those who brought the country into it. Men cannot be both mad and safe. They cannot enjoy the luxury of making insane wild-beasts of themselves, and remain in possession of the immunities attached to the exercise of human reason and common sense. That the Emperor of France should be supported and prompted by the French army, is nothing but what any man fit to take charge of the watch on deck of a collier, must have been perfectly aware of. The French army returned from the Crimea in a high state of exaltation, and has a more extended interest in the exercise of its professional talents than perhaps any other. Without attributing to it any extraordinary malignity, there were old grudges it might be very pleasant to settle; and unless anybody seriously wishes to have a French army on our backs at the moment of our insane and treacherous crusade in India, it was unwise to

do anything which could tend to such a consequence, or assist those who might be engaged in such a plan.

A letter signed "Judez" in the *Times* of 29 January attracted a good deal of notice at Bradford at the time when I was there; as confirming what I had said of the falsehood of the base additions made to the bad enough history of the events at Delhi and Cawnpore. I am now informed that it comes from a Judge and Magistrate in activity in India, the son of one of the most eminent of the legal celebrities in the House of Lords.

A parliamentary paper just transmitted to Bradford, goes to prove the justice of the assertion which made the editor of a journal in your neighbourhood to mount on his high horse, —that India had fallen into the hands of "our maniacs and our reprobates." See what the well-disposed portion of the Indian government declares it has got to struggle against.

On Saturday the House met for the purpose of carrying up the Address to the Queen on the Marriage.

On Monday the 8th was a debate, important in what it may lead to, on the Vote of Thanks to the Governor-General of India. The Conservatives showed more than their usual talent. Their attack, though finally withdrawn, was well aimed, well led, and well managed; though the final effect will only be to open out that information on the true state of the Indian question, which everybody but the Foreign Affairs Committees appears bent on keeping down.

After this, came on the Government's Bill for punishing Conspiracy to Murder. It produced, as on a former occasion, a great display of violence, from what may be denominated the party of the British lions; meaning those who are guided by the headlong instincts of animal nature, in opposition to the use of the reason which God has given to man. To those who have witnessed the bull-fights of Spain, where an unfortunate animal in pursuance of the dictates of its furious passions plunges upon the sword of the skilful slaughterer held out with that prepared purpose, the resemblance is irresistible. When one half the British army is employed in massacring the other half, and when no stone has been practically left unturned which could impress on the Natives of India the necessity of dying in the last ditch if they can get there, and bring on the state of things most tempting to foreigners to interfere as France did in America in 1776,—is not the time for using irritating language to the heads of foreign governments whether better or worse, unless the users are prepared to avow that they contemplate the complications

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of the existing difficulty which have been alluded to. If anybody dislikes this position of the country, let them go to those who brought it on, and specially to the mis-called statesmen here, who scouted all attempts at inquiry into the origin of the mischief when remedy might have been applied, or at all events the exacerbation of the evil by the promise of impunity prevented. But being where it is, it is the business of wise men in it if there are any, to conduct themselves like reasonable beings, and not like brute creatures however gloriously picturesque or conventionally poetic. We must not court the interference of foreigners at an awkward moment, that the British lions may have the pleasure of putting it down. What is wanted is a simple medium between too much concession to foreign countries and too little, and is shut up in one word, *justice*; and justice is the application of the rule of doing to others what we should expect them to do to us. If natives of any imaginable country were believed to be conspiring in France against the life of the sovereign of Great Britain, we should be very likely to request some alteration in existing laws if we thought it wanted; and not the less, if our British lions were exerting themselves to get up a national quarrel upon the premises. As in the very common case of regimental disputes, the wise men must keep the foolish in order, and partly by persuasion and partly by authority, keep Jack and Fred from making holes in each other on a punctilio. It is generally very little that is wanted in such cases; and that little ought to be done. If the English law against conspiracy to murder does not extend to murdering a foreigner beyond sea, it ought to do. Or if the punishment is incompetently small, it would be reasonable to extend it. But no quarrelling to please the British lions.

The debate was finally adjourned till Tuesday.

After expressing my satisfaction at "What the Foreign Affairs Committees affirm," in your paper of 6 Feb., I offer an observation in the way of accuracy. There never was anything like "antipathy of races" on the part of the Natives of India, till the present events which have done all that gods or men could suggest to engender it for the future. The Native soldiery, as Lord Macaulay has said in the *Edinburgh Review*, (for it is *ant Macaulay aut Diabolus*), were the most affectionate of servitors to all of British lineage. Good lost, casts a degree of illusion over the past; but it was beautiful to see the communications between the Natives and Europeans, where the last, as was the case with many, were benevolent and wise. It was more like what might be imagined of the

commerce of human beings with existences a step higher in the scale of creation if such there be, than anything else to which it can be likened. One detestable word, imported from the slave-penns of America, has put an end to this for ever.

At a quarter before 1 A.M. the House divided on the introduction of the Bill to punish Conspiracy to Murder. Ayes, 299; Noes, 99.

On Wednesday the 10th, the Oaths Bill was read a Second Time without a Division. It is not much of a Bill; being lacking in simplicity and greatness; but it is a fidget in the right direction. The war, it is to be concluded, will be in the other House. Meanwhile the ultra party of the opponents here, have had the opportunity of showing off to their hurt. Their eloquence is alarming; and in the department of muscular action, would indicate an ambition of figuring in the print-shops by the side of Mr. Spurgeon. Their arguments consist simply of one truism,—“We cannot admit any but Christians into the House of Commons, because then we should cease to be a House of Commons that admitted nobody but Christians.”

Yours, &c.

10 Feb., 1858.



LIMITED LIABILITY.—POPULAR EDUCATION.—INDIA BILL.—
CHURCH-RATES.

XXXVI.

ON Thursday 10 February Mr. Headlam brought in his Bill for allowing of Limited Liability in Joint-Stock Banks. The Government agreed to it, with reservation that it should not extend to Banks of issue. The distinction seems reasonable. When a man lodges his money in a Bank of deposit, he has the same opportunity as in any other commercial transaction, of forming his own judgment on the soundness of those he trusts, and if he does not like them, he has only to let them alone. But when the paper of a Bank of issue is offered to a tradesman, he cannot decline to receive it, without incurring the danger of losing custom, or of causing a scandal and an outbreak which he will avoid as long as he can. And this forms the answer to what was urged on this point from the opposite side, namely that a tradesman had nothing to do but to take the bank note and send it to the bank to be cashed. Such a proceeding would soon get wind, and Mr. A. who was sending his notes for cash at the end of every market

day, would be marked as an enemy of the banking firm, and one who was bent on injuring its credit. All of which a tradesman will run considerable risks to avoid.

And this may be the place for noting, that it is discreditable to a civilized and law-governed community, to have permitted those opportunities for inflicting deep distress on the most defenceless portions of the public, which have from time to time arisen out of the insolvency of banks of issue. The thing was perfectly within reach, if there had been the will ; and this without detriment, but rather advantage, to the strongest and the best. And the reason why it was never reached, was partly owing to connexions with the governments of past times, and partly to the vague ideas of the advantages of increasing paper currency and credit at all hazards, which are only now beginning to be shaken. The thing was easily accomplished in the case of a receiver of the taxes ; where the government took special care that nobody should receive without making ample provision for recovery from somebody or somewhere, in case he ran away. There could have been no hardship in a demand of the same nature on the issuer of paper money ; the matter being clearly within the province of law, which exists for no end but the protection of the public. There could have been no hardship in demanding of a bank of issue that it should find approved security for every pound it issued ; or if chosen, money lodged in the public funds, with some provision for its remaining there, might have been considered as security. It is no secret that this last is the way in which the strongest and safest banks of issue secure the means of answering all calls that may be made on them, and at the same time receive a profit.

On the same evening a motion was made by Sir John Pakington, the most liberal of Conservatives, for an Address to the Queen for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the present state of Popular Education in England ; which was carried by 110 to 49. This therefore is the time for getting up a map of the position of the question. What is wanted ; how much of it is done already ; and how much is still to do ? And, which prudent men always begin by inquiring,—what have been the obstacles most effective hitherto, and which therefore may be looked for in what is to come ? And here the principal obstacles have been two ;—the desire of the different religious sects and parties to make education as much as in their power an instrument of extending their own opinions, and as the means to this, preventing education where such desire should not be gratified ; and secondly, the

quarrel between those who are unwilling to receive public aid and those who are not, otherwise known as the dispute between the Voluntaries and what must be called in opposition the Involuntaries. The first of these would seem to be disposed of, by telling them that nobody wants to interfere with them; but it is not certain that they will not still endeavour to exert some hostile influence. The religious sects show an inclination to adopt the same policy as on the Jew question; when unable to carry the point entirely for themselves, they admit what they think the necessary number into partnership. The High Church Tory sinks his dislike to the Romanist, the Unitarian, and the Dissenter generally; and offers for the time being to be fellow well met with any of them, if they will only combine to keep out the Jew. So on the Education Question, they proffer combination to keep out any man who will not recognize their demand to throw in religion as a stumbling-block. "Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?" said an Apostle; and have ye not churches to teach your religious opinions in, may be asked of the opponents who object to assembling children to learn the Rule of Three without seizing the opportunity to catechize. In all this there is a lurking jealousy of children being taught the Rule of Three, and a concealed conviction that it would not by itself be favourable to some dogma they roll under their tongues.

What is wanted seems to be a power for all or any substantial associations of men, to ask, not as a charity but a right, public aid in the proportion of what they may be held to contribute to the resources of the state; to be by them expended on Education of any kind they please, with just so much of other men's plans and interests as they choose to admit and no more. There must be some kind of inspection, to ensure that the public money is not taken on false pretences; but anything further is to be resisted, as much as a demand to read the Litany. A good precedent is given in the Marriage Laws; by which people can be married with any religious ceremony they choose, and if they choose, with none.

On Friday the Minister moved to bring in his Bill "for the better government of India." His speech was prodigiously tame, and never for a moment got off the ground. On the other hand Mr. Baring's in reply, though neither poetry nor rhetoric are the avocations of himself or house, occasionally rose to the impassioned and impressive. The Chancellor of the Exchequer took an extraordinary line. He said the Directors of the East India Company, in all the most stirring

times of their administration, had invariably impressed 'on their servants in India the duties of "justice," moderation, and abstinence from territorial aggrandizement, (I stand to the word between inverted commas); and their servants in India had as invariably set their directions at defiance. *Ergo*,—admire the conclusion,—the Directors of the Company could not claim credit as the authors of the British power in India. Throughout the whole of the official proceedings, was a manifest resolution to keep down the great question at the present moment, which is whether the disgraces in India have not been brought on through a victorious opposition to the principles and system of the Directors in all time, and whether the whole conclusion against the Directors is not as irrational, as if on a ship of war being burnt at its anchors, the cry were raised of "This comes of the traditional policy of the Master at Arms seeing all lights out at watch-setting, and the red-tape custom of making reports to the First Lieutenant." It was further argued from the same quarter, that this was peculiarly the time for a change of government in India; being of about the same value as a proposal that in troublous times in England, the exasperation should be salved by an announcement that the government was to be changed from the regal to which men were accustomed, to some unknown thing entitled the government of a Company. If anything decidedly suicidal can be invented, it is the proposal to send every malcontent in India to die in the last ditch, by the announcement that the Company's government which he knows has resisted to the utmost of its power the treachery practised on him, is to be superseded by another, for what he will consider the express purpose of executing the cruelties the Company would have prevented. Why is the name of the Queen of England to be held forth as executioner in chief? Is it not enough that commissioned officers with awkward fingers have dabbled in the hangman's art?

On Monday, dull debate, with the exception of an impassioned speech from Mr. Whiteside, on the same question regarding India. On Tuesday, the question in another form, in a motion for calling the attention of the House to the causes of the insurrection; though by the greater portion of the speakers no attention to them was called. Lord John Russell commenced with a dry defence of Lord Dalhousie; but was great when he got on the first Napoleon's ruin though hankering after his *prestige*. In the course of this, he made a hard hit against what he on a former occasion called the "atrocious" proceedings in China.

During the evening, a question was asked according to notice with the Votes, having a strong tendency to produce irritation in France, to the endangering of a war the first move of which it needs no ghost to tell. The Minister, as was natural to one whose wishes were all the other way, made a stark and decisive reply.

At the same sitting, the ministry was in a minority of 17 (being one more than on the famous Canton question) on a motion for bringing in a Bill to repeal the Act of Queen Anne, chapter 7, so far as relates to the vacating of Seats in Parliament on the acceptance of office. Will the minister send the House of Commons to the British Lion again? And if not, why will he not?

On Wednesday the 17th at half-past 5 P.M., Sir John Trelawney's Bill for the Abolition of Church-Rates was read a Second Time, by a majority of 214 to 160. A great fact.

Yours, &c.

17 February, 1858.



AMENDMENT ON THE CONSPIRACY BILL.—REMARKABLE
EFFECT.—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

XXXVII.

On Thursday 18 February, adjourned debate on the Bill for changing the Government of India. There was a universal omission of what it might have been supposed would have been the question presenting itself to all minds,—the effect which the announcement of such a change, with all the chances of misunderstanding, even if it be misunderstanding, which beset it, will have on the existing state of things in India. I confess, that to my apprehension, it looks like nothing but the way in which, according to the adage of antiquity, those the Deity intends to destroy, are demented to begin with. A shipmaster who in a gale of wind should choose the time for shifting his lower masts, would only be a type of it. Here are all the Natives of India in a state of agitation, some sacrificing themselves by what they consider martyrdom, and others preparing to do it by and by; knowing full well, or at all events impressed with the strong conviction, that the evil which has come upon their country, was the distinct work of persons acting in opposition to the wishes and endeavours of what they are acquainted with under the name of the Company's Government; seeing too the full evidence that the men who have filled their country with

blood and horror, who have blown their friends and relatives from guns, have hanged the wounded on the field, and taught the private soldier to approach as near to cannibalism as consists in "glorying" in the smell of an enemy roasted before he is dead* ;—all this they know is carried on by men shouting for the abolition of the Company's government and the substitution of the Royal name. Of course they consider the Royal name as intended for the seal and confirmation of their evils ; and this is the position of things, in which a government at home can do nothing but press the substitution. If a man were found sending out a thousand stand of arms to the Indian subjects of the Crown now in active resistance, he would probably be blamed. What is the amount of blame attaching to those who insist on ordering what will cause a hundred thousand to take to either active or passive hostility ? Surely the Swedish statesman's intimation to his son was true, that he would live to see with how little wisdom the world is governed.

The Bill was finally introduced by a majority of 318 to 173. If the professing Radicals were worth their salt, they would make a stand against the hugest plan of centralization of power which ever entered into the heart of man. But they have sold the Centralization, for what will prove to be a spinning minnow of Reform. The Second Reading is fixed for March 5 ; so that there is still some time.

On Friday a great change came over the Government's Bill for preventing Conspiracy to Murder, on the motion for Second Reading, by the introduction of Mr. Milner Gibson's Amendment ; the consequence being that eighty-one members who had voted for the introduction of the Bill, voted for Mr. Gibson's Amendment, with the effect of turning a majority of 200 into a minority of 19. Of course there must have been other novelties to produce the result ; but this was the great feature.

The explanation appears to be this. On the motion for introducing the Bill, there was no alternative but either to refuse all attention to the case, or vote for its being laid on the table. Mr. Gibson's Amendment was directed with great judgment to alter this state of things. He pointedly declared that his Amendment would prevent no alteration of the law which might be found necessary when it was known what *was* the law ; and he included in its terms as much of disavowal and detestation of conspiracy, as might satisfy any reasonable desires of parties concerned. This produced the effect, perhaps hardly to be paralleled in parliamentary history ; and on divi-

sion, the Amendment was carried by 234 to 215. It does not seem clear whether this is necessarily final ; because it has not been voted that the Bill be read this day six months, but only that another proposition is carried. But the probability is that it will practically be final.

The speech of the mover of the Amendment was everything that was conciliatory, prudent, and abstinent from irritating topics ; as were also those of all the leading members who took the same side. The minister in winding-up in reply, was wanting in self-command. He attacked the mover, and through him the whole old and young Peace Party, as having invariably advocated a policy of submission and crouching to every foreign power, and endeavoured to paralyze the arm of the country and deprive it of the means of defence. He added the impolicy, of lecturing the House on the duty of carrying a Bill through the Second Reading after it had been once introduced ; when everybody knows that the constant plea of the introducers of a Bill is, that it shall not be condemned without being first laid on the table.

It appears very desirable to know what the actual state of the law on conspiracy is ; and it is not considered as definitely settled, notwithstanding the efforts of the Attorney-General. It may be set down as admitted, that for Englishmen in England to conspire to murder anybody in England, is a misdemeanour. A case was stated where men conspired to hang a man by a false charge, and were punished in consequence. May Englishmen conspire to murder a jeweller in the Rue St. Honoré, to whom it shall be supposed they are in debt ? What are the consequences if they succeed ? What are the consequences if they fail ? If they succeed and make their escape to England, will they be given up under what are called the extradition treaties ; or will they be tried in England ? If they have failed, can they be tried in England, and for what, and with what punishment ? All these are questions which if they were in the hands of Bradford merchants and related to Alpaca, would be settled in a month. The opinion of the Attorney-General appeared to be, that foreigners are able to do in this country, that which your own subjects are unable to do, and what would be a crime in natural-born British subjects is a matter of impunity in foreigners. An odd state of law if it is so, and one which might well be altered ; though it does not follow that it was necessary to vote against Mr. Gibson's Amendment.

On Monday, after a short speech, Lord Palmerston moved that the House on its rising adjourn till Friday ; which

was agreed to. A letter was produced from the English Ambassador at Paris, and is among the Parliamentary Papers delivered on Tuesday, the tendency of which appears to be to insist on the irritation existing in France. Is this to enforce the keeping of Lord Palmerston for minister ?

Some sanguine men appear to think, that the plan for the centralization of India or its government, is at an end. Doubts may be felt on this head ; for mischief is not so easily quelled. It would be contrary to probabilities to say, that the loss of India (for it *will* be a loss, as much as if the owner of a China-shop had danced among his china-ware and then talked of saving the pieces,)—had been invented and set a-going by the home government, for the sake of destroying the Native army and laying hands on the administration of India with a huge augmentation of the British land forces. They were not what the lawyers call accomplices before the fact ; but they were accomplices after. They seized on the advantages the position offered, and had not the least notion of losing any of them by delay. The first step towards alleviation of the miseries and shames in India, would be the blowing up (if gods or men could compass it) of this plan for giving the administration of India to the minister.

After the turn things have taken, the question would seem now to be, whether a Tory government is to strengthen itself with the centralization of India. Surely the men will awake, who allowed themselves to be drugged with the notion that there was a coming Reform, and all manner of known and unknown good things on the point of dropping into their mouths.

Yours, &c.

24 February, 1858.



CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—INDIA.—THE "CROWNING MADNESS."

XXXVIII.

ON Friday 26 February, the Commons met to vote the issuing of new writs for the places whose representatives had accepted office under the Crown ; a precaution of our ancestors, not of the very first-rate importance, but still of some importance, like a man's blowing his nose lest he should wish he had done it by-and-by.

The late Attorney-General made a remarkable and to most of his audience a puzzling speech, in which he spoke mysteriously of some who had highly misconducted themselves, and

with sharp bits of sarcasm ever and anon, which were applauded by those who thus announced themselves to be in the secret. You will be amused to hear, that through pure chance the orator from time to time directed his eye so exactly to the place where it was my fortune to have found a seat, that however remote from possibility the thing might be, I could not help saying to myself, like the husband in the French farce, *Est-ce qu'en dormant j'ai fait quelque chose ?* By degrees it came out, that it was somebody "in another place ;" and as neither you nor I have anything to do with anybody "in another place," the fear was lulled. It seems that eminent lawyers in the Lords have roughly dealt with the late Attorney-General's law on the subject of the responsibility of foreigners. But surely the point might have been settled, with less expense of words. A parliamentary speech is not the best medium for explaining a point of law ; but so far as I could frame a judgment, the defence was that conspiracy in England to murder a foreigner abroad, had been made punishable by a special statute, and in this statute no mention had been made of its being applicable to foreigners. Supposing the word "foreigner" not to appear in the statute, it does not follow that the statute is not applicable to all who at the moment owe obedience to the English laws. If a statute was passed making cutting and maiming a capital felony, was a foreigner at liberty to cut and maim because he was not named in the statute ? But all this is arguing without an exact cognizance of facts ; and the pity and the complaint is, that the facts are not given us. If it were a question of Horse law or of Ship law, the law would be laid before us in unmistakeable terms, by those ingenious gentlemen who with steady wing pursue their way towards the honours of the profession by mastering one subject at a time. If there is such a defect in the law as stated, the sooner the hole is patched the better ; but the first step towards it, would be to let us know, in the cabalistic symbols for such cases made and provided, what there is, with a running commentary upon what there is not.

The House appointed to meet on Monday, for the purpose of adjourning to Friday 12 March ; which is believed to be the time requisite for an administration to shake themselves into their new clothes. Some of the appointments point strongly to the absence of connexion between an office, and what Bentham would call "official aptitude" as derived from previous habits and occupations. A man was once asked if he could play on the violin, and replied "he did not know,

but he would try." Some of them too, have a threatening aspect, as showing important interests placed in the hands of known adversaries. On the whole, it is for the party of the people to be on the alert, and put off as quickly as possible all slumbering and sleeping, arising out of confidence that they were in the hands of friends. Many important measures, which there was good hope were on the eve of being carried, must lie by for other weather. At the same time, it will be right to try—whether muckle-mouth'd Meg will make a good wife or not. It is to be supposed she was taken, to scape worse.

One very important point connected, is whether there is to be an end of the insane project of shifting the government of India. I have just seen a book on India, by a lady whose judgment has great influence in the country, Miss Martineau; and it is impossible to give too much weight to her eloquent denunciation of the "crowning madness" of seizing on the government of India to please the aristocracy. Women are always right on great questions; because they are free from the influences which mislead men. Add the enormous importance of preventing the huge act of centralization, the fear of which I would fain hope was at the bottom of the ministerial change. One further observation I must make on a passage in the book; and that is, on "the insolence of tone and manner with which all accounts seem to agree that natives are habitually treated." I must assure the author, on all the grounds on which credibility may be claimed, that six-and-thirty years ago, there was nothing of the kind. Nobody did anything with the natives "by the most imperious language and conduct;" and exactly in proportion to the elevation of the individual, was his exemplification of the fact. Have not I seen Sir John Malcolm, in converse with his Native counsellors and agents, stooping down to one of them who sat beneath him on the floor, and looking like Jupiter whispering in the ear of Tiresias? A European dragoon who had maltreated a native horse-keeper, would have been in the guardhouse in half-an-hour. There might be here and there such a thing as a drunken or reprobate officer who ill-used his servants; just as in English barracks may by possibility such a one be found. But the thing would have been in the highest degree discreditable, and no man could have stood its being laid to his charge. I think I once heard of a man, who was said to beat his servants to avoid paying their wages; but the thing was as great a monstrosity as it would have been in England. My conclusion from all this is,

that the practice came in with the colonists, whom the Company always protested against, and who brought with them from the West that horrible term, which has lost India, and cut off Great Britain from the heritage in other lands the Power which rules the world had otherwise intended for her.

On Monday the House met with little apparent object, but to adjourn till Friday the 12th of March.

Friends to whose wishes I am bound to attend, desire me to say why I voted for the first Reading of the Conspiracy Bill. Your paper of the 27th February will have done something towards an answer. It was because it seemed fair and proper that something should be done, to demonstrate a hatred of conspiracies to assassinate. There could be no reasonable doubt that both the English and French governments were anxious for peace; and the French government might be considered as saying, "We have furious people here who want a war, and you must do something if you can, to help us to keep them quiet." There was nothing to be done but either admit it to be laid on the table, or throw it out. This no doubt was what caused the majority of 200. But when the Members for Ashton and Birmingham produced their Amendment, there was a third course offered; and 81 Members took it, who had voted for the First Reading.

The same friends ask, how I came to join in the Vote of Thanks to Lord Canning. It was because I take a different view of what Lord Canning did, and what he would have done if he could. My impression from what we have the opportunity of seeing, strengthened by having been to some extent behind the scenes in distant governments, is that Lord Canning and the Civil Members of the Government generally, were moderate and well-meaning men, who would have kept things straight if they had been able, and were overborne by men of a different stamp, acting from positions which it was very difficult successfully to resist. One argument we may be sure was dinned into them on all sides,—the same that was urged on another Governor,—"If you do not do this, you are no friend to Cæsar." When a man could not do what he would, the next praise is that he did what he could. Is there no evidence in the fact, that the Governor-General is caricatured in "Punch," for evincing the feelings of a statesman and a Christian gentleman? Lord Canning and the Civil Servants never originated the breach of military faith and honour with the Native soldier. They never prompted ordering a regiment to lay down its arms, and when it obeyed, sending 149 men to be murdered in cold blood by an equal

number of English soldiers drawn up opposite, leaving them writhing on the ground, to be dispatched, says the account*, "by the sabres of the dragoons." This is what we buy our sons commissions in the Dragoons for;—would not Calcraft take them with a lower premium? Lord Canning and the Civil Members of the Government were not the movers in this. It is very likely an Act was wormed out of them, which was made an instrument in these monstrosities such as Pagan Rome,—the Beast of Prophecy,—was never guilty of. The Civil Governors stand as men not perhaps the strongest of their kind, but still making an honourable resistance, where perhaps nobody could have succeeded. Bit by bit every barrier had been got out of the way, which went to provide a check on the passions of vulgar and infuriated men. The policy which carried the day, was not the policy of men but of monkeys. Burke said if the English were driven from India, they would leave no monuments but what might have proceeded from the tiger and the orang-outan. Had he lived in this day, he would have pointed to less respectable classes of the *Simiadae*.

Our friends also wonder, how I could join in thanks to the Army. As a piece of private history I will tell them, that I rose in my place to say, that of course the thanks were not given to the authors of the atrocities. But the Speaker, not I suppose being on the look-out for such a thing, continued his recitative, and the chance was over. So that I can do nothing but pray like Ezra, that the thing may be remembered for me for good in the day of account.

Yours, &c.

3 March, 1858.



CONSPIRACY BILL.—INDIA BILL.—VAN AMBURGH CRAZED.

XXXIX.

THE question at the present moment is, what is to be done with the Conspiracy Bill; for it appears to be announced that the new Government intend bringing it forward again.

It may be as well to give the answer first, and the reasons after. And the answer, so far as we and friends are concerned, ought to be, to give it every kind of opposition in our power.

When a majority of 200 voted for laying the Bill upon the table, it was testimony enough for reasonable people in all climes and countries, that there was no inclination to withhold any necessary security to foreigners. But the 200 had a

right to expect the subject should be rationally dealt with, by those who had taken it in hand. In the first place, they had a claim to be told, what was the actual state of British law. And this the lawyers could not tell, or at all events could not agree upon. If corporals could not agree, when left's in front what's the pivot,—one half of them would be broken, to make room for men of better knowledge. There seemed on the whole however, no serious doubt, that to conspire in England to murder a man in the Rue St. Honoré, was a crime punishable by English law; and that what was so punishable, was equally so in all. There was a surmise that the punishment was not more than fine and imprisonment; but it was plain to all thinking minds, that if the punishment could be made certain, three weeks on the treadmill from time to time, would be as effectual a bar to a conspiracy, as it would be to a fox-chase. The demand for *severity* of punishment in lieu of *certainity*, was what wise men would not have made. So when the opportunity was offered by the Manchester Amendment, the majority made *volte-face*, declaring they had had enough of it, and would have no more. And so it ought to have remained.

As it now appears, the new government are determined to have the contest over again, with all its pleasing excitements on both sides the water. If anybody here is bent on promoting popular jealousy against anything that might be called concession to an ally, he shall have full scope and opportunity. And if any colonels on the other side, have a toast they have not given, or a speech they have not made, it shall be the special business of the English cabinet in council assembled, to see they are not disappointed.—However, what must be, must; and though no man with habits of thought sufficient for the guidance of a coal-barge can fail to see what all this is leading to, it must pass among other things which wilful man will do, and men like us must take the consequences.

Nevertheless, if there is any probability that by demonstrations of public feeling the course threatened might be averted, it would be right to try. At all events it would be well that there should be no want of unanimity, among those who agree from one reason or other in dreading the consequences.

The Bill for promoting the resistance in India, is in something of the same position. There were hopes that a new government would have seized the opportunity to throw overboard the "crowning madness;" but appearances are the other way. Meantime, assumed folly must have a limit;

David cannot scabble on the doors for ever. Fraser's Magazine is the first that confesses it has eyes to see. "No reasonable man now doubts that dread of the cartridge was the immediately exciting cause of disaffection in five out of ten of the sepoy who mutinied, the other five being led away by the force of example." Was anybody reasonable, who ever doubted it? Every one of the men murdered and to be murdered, had the same personal interest in the stability of the British power and government, that the depositors in a Savings' Bank have in the permanence of that institution. Yet we had statesmen gaping in pretended idiocy, and wondering how human ingenuity could discover a cause. We are in bad hands. We must get out of them when we can. I believe we must get into our own.

When Van Amburgh produced his natives of the desert obedient and tamed,—the lordly lion greeting him as a comrade, and the sleek leopard balancing itself on all fours on his shoulders like a gigantic and loving cat,—while the terror of Indian plains, to make him mirth performed its manual at command by jumping through a hoop,—it was clear he had performed a work requiring courage and skill. But not greater than was performed by each of the men whose efforts made a brave and faithful army out of the inhabitants of strange regions, which nothing could have undone but gross military treachery such as soldiers abhor when it is to be applied to themselves, and stinging personal insult and injury such as they are equally unapt to bear.

Imagine now that Van Amburgh had always known, that there was a certain scent,—suppose of grease,—which in the smallest quantity set a lion beside himself, and made a tiger *non compos mentis*. And fancy, if it is permitted to suppose humanity in such a state of drivelling, that with the infatuation which leads a child to experiment whether gunpowder will burn, he had been unable to prevent himself from greasing his wild beasts with pork fat or with beef, and that the consequence had been that, not he, the contemptible goose, but numbers of innocent people who had lived in confidence that keepers would not grease their tigers, had fallen victims to his insanity *prepanse*. It was always so in India. Your military commanders or a sufficing quantity, never had the sense to know they must not grease their tigers. What was the use of tigers, if they might not grease them? They were dabbling in it, in all time. They were not men of calibre enough, or sense enough, to know that tigers might be kept without greasing them. They could conceive no use of tigers but to

be greased. Whether they got their commissions too easily, or how it was, the curious in such matters might inquire. What is certain is, that they were "stupid men and no soldiers." In 1806 the massacre of Vellore was got up and ordained to be, by a commander-in-chief who could not conceive that soldiers might be useful, if they did not wear a piece of leather as distasteful to them as to the English soldier to have been asked to wear a piece of skin torn from a gibbet, and making his hands, as he conceived it, smell of "*human*" every time they came in contact. Neither the commander nor anybody else had the sense to know that this was drivelling. But there was a massacre, and that covered all sores.

I remember in my undergraduate days riding on the outside of a coach,—for there were coaches in those days, and an undergraduate would have been dishonoured who rode inside,—and there was a man, whom from after knowledge I should surmise to have been a petty officer or what is called a Conductor, in India. He was considerably gone in drink ; but in spite of this he displayed much acquaintance with events in the East, and the constant burden with which he wound up his searching commentaries, with all the solemnity of incipient intoxication, was "There's no sense like common sense !" The man's aphorism had truth in it. We are not governed by common sense. Common sense does not rule ; but common folly, aided by common propensities, ousts a little of it here and a little there, till folly rules the roast. If it had not been for this, we should never have heard of a disturbance in India, nor of the "crowning madness" to be applied to it as a plaster.

An instance of the insane dishonesty with which things have been managed, has just been brought into daylight by Colonel Sykes. The English gained their influence in India, through the policy of the good and able men who promised the Natives better government than they had met from their Native rulers ; and as the first step to this, a perfect protection for their religion, of which the two great branches were the Mohammedan and Brahmin. These were the honest men ; but next come the men whose trade and business is to say they are not bound by honest men's engagements. See what has been done. Out of the rental—for in spite of the blunders of political economists it *is* a rental, and a rack-rental too—squeezed out of the Indian community, salaries of bishops £194,360 ; visitations, £35,236 ; cathedral establishments, £76,990 ; chaplains, Church of England, salaries, £1,585,662 ;

and so on, making in twenty years £2,453,882. This is what they pay to "Master's Caste." And still the cry is "more Bishop." How much, all this while, has been given to a Mufti? I hear the sharp laugh which betrays the innocence of what is meant by honesty. Religion is good; but when your religious man takes the wrong way, let all men stand clear. If religious men dislike this, why cannot they keep clean hands? If it is proved that out of all this sack, one halfpenny-worth of bread has been given to the owners, bishopdom is up in arms. It is a Church-Rate in India; all property belongs to the strongest battalions. Men have been a few thousand years learning a little on this head; and in a few thousand years they will perhaps have learnt a little more.

In the greatest work of the greatest of French living writers, the "Last days of a Condemned" are described with a terrible power, which like the Voltaic conductors, it is not easy either to go on with or let go. "A twelvemonth since, and I was free and happy. On this very day, we had a family festival; at night we went to the *spectacle*, my sisters and my *bien aimée* were there; and then we came home and sat in the moonlight till it was time to part. And now,—*to-morrow*—"

It is just a year since in India all was going on happily as a marriage bell, save and except the men who had devoted the Native troops to massacre. There was a brave and attached army, living in full confidence in the honour of soldiers and the veracity of Englishmen, as at this moment a Catholic or a Protestant regiment may be sleeping in the midst of those of another creed. Our children, our *bien aimés*, were being carried in their arms with a woman's tenderness, for the Eastern heart is softer towards children than the European. The Christian, the philosopher, and the statesman, looked with placid joy on the finest specimen of successful amalgamation of interests and rights, which had been vouchsafed to human kind. At this moment two lieutenant-colonels determined to try the question of continuance. They attacked the Native soldier in his military honour, and in his personal integrity. If the Turkish government had enlisted its Christian subjects on promise of honourable treatment, and had then sent an order for them to be circumcised *en masse*, it would only have been the counterpart of what was done by Englishmen in India. Say nothing about French colonels and their interference in politics,—two lieutenant-colonels stood up and said "Let India cease to be English," and it ceased accordingly. Of course they walk exultingly in the

thanks of Parliament. And then came the blowings from guns, the regiments marched into position convenient for being assassinated, the epauletted hangman with his assistant elephant, and "our excellent deputy Adjutant-General" who "recommended that the clothes of the sufferers should be set on fire to prove whether life was extinct*." Will not foreign nations spue us out, the innocent and guilty alike? And is not the Continent of Europe at this moment thinking on the glorious man, who, Frenchman as he was and Catholic, replied to an order from his sovereign, "Your Majesty has here faithful subjects, brave soldiers, but not one executioner." What was the massacre of St. Bartholomew's to the cold-blooded massacre of an army, drawn up rank by rank and file by file, disarmed, and the sons of Christian peasants in England arrayed in equal numbers opposite, to be engines of their country's shame? What was the massacre of Jaffa, (where, though never boasted of in a French newspaper, an enemy's garrison charged with breach of the law of war was understood to have been put to death), to this faithless butchery? And all this admired and hounded on, by priest and people, under the influence of the most hideous lie,—the lie against what our ancestors called "the jealousy of a man,"—the lie *against nature*, the first time of its appearance in the world. Are any of the men who did these deeds to come back again? if they are, it will be time for us to get our hounds in order. The scorn for law, the lust for blood or for the hangman's bloodless craft, which they will bring with them, cannot be too early met. All history teaches that horrible national crimes are followed by horrible punishments; and nothing could be so horrible as these men let loose upon us. There is a lurking belief too in some quarters, that there exists a Power which considers vengeance as its own. Surely some people must have confounded God with Baal, and dreamed of having a long day through His being subject to the infirmities and engagements of the other.

Yours, &c.

10 March, 1858.



GOD'S VENGEANCE ON THE CANTON MASSACRE.

XL.

THE House of Commons reassembled on Friday 12 March. There was a large attendance of Members, in expectation of hearing something interesting; but the harvest was small.

152 *Warning to the "Foreign Affairs Committees."*

The new government follow the policy, not unnatural in their position, of saying as little as they can. Any plans they have, they think it will be soon enough to disclose when the day comes. At the same time it does not appear to strike anybody, that they have any deep-laid plans beyond keeping themselves in office if they can. This is the state of the game; and it is the business of all the concerned to make the best of it.

And here I would point out one move, as what friends should take into consideration. It is not now believed that the new government mean to press the Conspiracy Bill. In this conclusion, there can be no doubt the strong symptoms of dislike in various parts of the country had a share. Could not the same preparations which were made for expressing the unpopularity of the Conspiracy Bill, be applied to do the same for the Centralization Bill? Everything about it portends danger. It was avowed last night, that the object was to do in India what the French have done in Algeria,—form an army to be applied to ulterior purposes. I mean it to be understood that Algeria was expressly named, and without rebuke held forth in parliament as the model. And what is going on in parliament, is going on outside. In a public print now before me (*Daily News*, 11 August, 1857) I find a letter from India urging the sending for "functionaries from Russia, Austria, or even our next neighbour Louis Napoleon, who I dare say would lend us a few civil and military gentlemen of Algerian experience;" and this for the purpose of enabling "summary despotism to a great extent to take place of Chancery delays and old Bailey quibbles" (meaning the exercise of civil law) "in our administration of India." It is plain how the thing is going. And if it goes on, how long may it be before the Foreign Affairs Committees are tortured first and hanged afterwards, by order of a drum-head court-martial? Did ever any nation get up an armed machinery for the rehearsal and practice of despotism, and train a military force to be the executioners, without the thing recoiling first or last upon the nation that permitted it? Our forefathers had their jealousies of standing armies; but nobody had ever said, Make us a standing army which shall breakfast on the murder of the wounded on the field of battle, and rise in the morning saying whom shall we torture and hang afterwards, and which way shall we go to-day to hunt for our victims! These were things reserved for our times, and things with which the face of no nation had up to this day been blackened. But there are men who have eyes and

men who have none. There are some who if they are set roaring with the idea that they are to be beasts and not men, will quietly pull down all that the wisdom of forefathers has stored of valuable and good, and do their best to make their country first a slaughter-house and then a slave-yard.

Perhaps it will be said, there is nobody disposed to make this use of the British Algiers. So people would have said in France ten years ago. Make the tool, and the hands will be found to guide it. Wise men take care there shall not be the tool; and so hands are kept clean.

£8,847,000 were voted away "like fun," as the men in India say when they murder a Native. Of course this is what must be; we were born to it, as the Natives were. It is no use saying, a great part of it was to buy dishonour. How can we help it, when others like it?

Yes, India was a pleasant place, before the gun and halter men got the upper hand, and turned it into a scene to which fallen nature has produced no parallel. It was worth going to the East, if only to bring away a lively feeling of the truth and beauty in the patriarchal records. But now,—Abraham would be blown from a gun, and Moses and Aaron scourged before hanging on a tree, with their mouths well stuffed with the flesh of swine, as gloated over by christened readers of the English newspapers. A man who went to the East was not to be lamented by his family as one without hope. If he was of the higher ranks, his temptations were not greater but less, than on the average at home. There was a tone of decency and propriety about the society in which he lived,—he had more excitement to emulation and more examples to encourage,—backed by the consciousness of being a more important unit than in the world he left. Or if he were of low degree, he still had his advantages. To the private soldier, many opportunities for bettering himself were open. I could point to at least three men, who beginning with being enlisted soldiers, and with no advantages of interest or introduction, by the mere force of good and orderly conduct, left the country either in the station of commissioned officers, or with the position of partner in a wealthy commercial house. All this is poisoned now. The hellish scheme of massacring the Native Army with a view to reduce the Indian-born to Virginian slavery through a force formed out of the dregs of Indian society, has been carried out, and in due time, by the just judgment of heaven, will produce its effects here. Confidence can never be restored. Fancy the position of an Englishman in India, as ably foreseen by the son of our great

law-lord. Your servant is to stand behind your chair with recollections, that here his two brothers were blown limb from limb by the orders of a mock court, every member of which ought to hold up his hand for murder ;—their arms were found in that corner and their feet in that other, and gathered by the women of their family for burial, with all the little children of the household brought secretly to swear hatred to the beasts in human form who did this and still expect to sit down with Christians and gentlemen. Another is to say, here my chieftain, whose ancestors had ruled mine for fifty generations, had his mouth crammed with pork by these Christians, who had learned from their sacred books that this was the pet cruelty of heathen persecutors ; and then after being put to the torture by stripes, was hanged upon a tree*. And the man who is expected to tend you in sickness is to say, here my relative was forced by torture to do what the torturer thought he believed would damn his soul, and the man who did this and boasted of it under his own hand, is to have a monument, we hear, by the side of his nation's poet. It is a shocking thing to be a conquered people, but immeasurably more so when the conqueror is without honour, without religion, without faith, a specimen of what man can be made when he puts off his human nature and glories in being fiend. One other shocking thing there is, and that is to be obliged to acknowledge as countrymen the men who did these things, and minister out of our substance to the accomplishment of their deeds.

See how this mischief began and grew ; and mark the truth that the way of the unrighteous is hard. An official in China, who went out with the confidence of all good men that he would promote honest commerce and keep his hands free from blood,—this official under the temptation of promoting a detestable traffic in opium, ordered a massacre of harmless Chinese, on a pretext which he himself admitted to be false. A British House of Commons declared the act felonious ; but a British minister, under cover of one of the shameful parts of the constitution, referred the question to popular assemblies operated on by every imaginable delusion, and so prevented the verdict from being carried out. Then was got up the popular cry for blood. "Give, give," was the voice of the many-headed horse-leech. In this condition of the public mind, the plot against the Indian army was put in act. In any other state of things, the cause of the conflagration would have been inquired into, and half-a-dozen sensible men might have applied an extinguisher. But a judicial madness was

on all. The cry of our statesmen was for no inquiry, meanwhile bleed freely, or what is better, blow from guns. And thus the Chinese murder was avenged. Posterity will search the columns of the newspapers for evidence, that their forefathers with all their boasted Christianity were little better than savages, with here and there a touch of the cannibal.

The debate on Monday threw little light on anything, except that the diplomatic dispute with France may be considered settled for the present. The leader of the ministerial side made boast of his being at liberty to handle the question of parliamentary representation, either forwards or backwards as he pleased. This comes of the unadvised word "finality." Who ever saw "finality?" Did you, or do you know anybody that did? Things will never go right, till men arrive at the knowledge that there can be no more finality in politics, than in science, in art, in manufactures.

Notwithstanding all this, there is a firm faith abroad, that the ministerialists will know better than to attempt anything decidedly retrograde. Meantime the business of the popular side must be, to make the most they can of the present cross wind. Better such, than the dead calm in which nothing moves.

Tuesday. It is wonderful how amiable everybody is. Like Charles the Second when he landed at Dover from his exile, the ministers may ask why they did not come back a long time ago. There has been the dry rot on the other side. The ministry that, massacring Chinamen, lost India, was not sound at heart, nor in anybody's heart.

On Wednesday, more frittering-away of the Oaths Bill. The spirit of wisdom fell on a young Member with the not very usual name of Knatchbull-Hugessen. Nobody else had claim to notice. When the bigotry of religion and of colour is throwing away an empire, and wading through the massacre of two hundred thousand of its enlisted soldiers to the accomplishment of its designs, is not a likely time for the removal of any man's oppression, or the preservation of any man's liberties.

Yours, &c.

17 March, 1858.



**LESSON TO DUPES AND ACCOMPLICES.—FORGERY FOR THE
ENGLISH MARKET.—ON PROMOTION FROM THE RANKS.****XXI.**

ON Thursday 18 March was a debate in which the national sense and honour gave sign of rallying against the folly and wickedness in which they have been so long overwhelmed. The occasion was on a motion by Mr. Rich, the member for Richmond, for information bearing on the brutalities enacted by the British army in India, which in truth have blackened the face of the professional soldier all the world over, and must end in the exclusion of the guilty from the comradeship of decent men of all nations.

The member for Richmond conducted his movement with extraordinary energy and tact; it was not known there was such a man in England. During the major part of his speech, the ministerial benches presented an unusual spectacle. The leaders of the ministerialists were taken with a desire for profound study, and in attitudes of luxurious literary abstraction, over inviting folios, presented the appearance of being engaged in other worlds, far from the cares which distract the gross inhabitants of this, and farthest of all from vouchsafing any crumb of their attention to what was going on before the House. This is a new ministerial exhibition. For many years I have had the opportunity to judge, and never witnessed anything like it. It was my astonishment the Speaker did not interfere, on the principle which makes the President of a Court-Martial notice the appearance of a newspaper. I believe the Speaker does the same with newspapers; and why folios should have a privilege, is not easy to say. Of course ministers have a right to be reading men; but it would be well they should not select the time when the House of Commons is discussing matters connected with the honour and character of the country.

The member for Richmond was ably supported by the member for Newport, a younger son of the late Sir Fowell Buxton. The old class of men are picking up heart, and coming into line. They have beaten before, and they will know how to do it again. The other side were unwise enough to utter the taunt of "mawkish sentimentalism." Many thanks to them for putting it on the records of parliament; it can be got hold of now, and it will be seen who wins, as in the days of old. The old days are coming back; and exactly as in military affairs, when a few men turn and make head, it is surprising how others follow. From all parts of the House

came accessions. There was what may be called a universal agreement,—nothing appearing to the contrary but asseverations for which nothing but rumour could be alleged,—that the charges of violation and mutilation which ingenuity had invented for the delight of the popular mind at home, were, as all wise men knew from the beginning, without foundation. The Chairman of the Court of East India Directors (Mr. Mangles) said,

“To prove how exaggerated were the statements with respect to the atrocities which were said to have been committed in India, he might mention that he had been informed by Captain Lowe, who had acted as aide-de-camp to Sir H. Barnard, and who had been engaged throughout the whole of the siege of Delhi, that he had been unable to discover that there was the slightest foundation for the charges which had been made against the Sepoys in that respect, notwithstanding that a strict investigation as to the truth of those charges had been made (hear, hear).”

“Most hon. members, no doubt had read the able letters in *The Times* signed ‘Judex,’—written, it was generally understood, by Mr. G. Campbell. He stated that when at Delhi he did not hear of any atrocities being committed there, but he was told there was no doubt that such had been committed at Cawnpore. When he got to Cawnpore people said, ‘We’ve had nothing of the sort here, but there is no doubt that atrocities did take place at Delhi,’ and so on at all the places which public rumour had fixed on as the scenes of these occurrences.”—*Times*, 19 March, 1858.

But this is small, in comparison of what the Hon. Chairman proceeded to contribute towards the history of human wickedness whenever an author shall be found to undertake it.

“Then, again, with regard to the inscriptions which were said to have been found written on the wall of the room where the women had been confined at Cawnpore, he had been told by an officer who was present with the English army that on the first day when the troops entered Cawnpore there were no such inscriptions there, and that they had been written subsequently by some person who had a strange taste for exaggerating the real horrors of the spot.”—*Times*, 19 March, 1858.

So it turns out, that this, which was so greedily licked up by the dupes and accomplices who surrounded us, was a forgery, with intent to urge on the private soldier to disgrace his cloth and country. If “all liars” are to have their part in a lake of most unpleasant composition, surely there will be a choice compartment for those who have had the genius to make this amalgam of forgery and murder, of false heart and bloody hand. There is also, if I mistake not, a

against whoever "loveth" as well as "maketh" a lie; which it may be feared will endanger numbers of our well-to-do neighbours. Things of this kind do not come of themselves; they come because men desired and loved the thing which they believed. Some of them thought it would lead to the establishment of their religion, some to the putting down of coloured people, some to cotton, and some to the sale of horrors in newspapers and pictorial representations. It is astonishing how much more inviting a massacre or a murder of prisoners has been made by improvements of the last-mentioned kind. Our little boys and girls can be made familiar with the process of blowing a heathen from a gun, and if possible the artists would brutalize the babe unborn. Our forefathers had little or no pleasure of this kind. A massacre was a thing of which they had only a remote and unsatisfactory notion. It was for our times to conceive the idea of selling horrors, and making them that they might sell.

Remember too, that these things will not pass away. The columns of the *Times* will remain in the British Museum till perhaps the crack of doom. The rest of the evidence will do the same, and the country where we were born must go down to eternity with the stamp of more than bestial folly, and unless things are worse among fallen spirits than we are told of, more than fiendish wickedness. Liars, forgers, cut-throats, these are what we must keep company with in the next world, unless we can set up a claim in time, to having done something towards "coming out from among them."

And now to a little business of our own. Go to our neighbours who have been so hot-headed in their abuse, and thought no words of scorn too much for any who did not join them in loving to be cheated;—tell them the tide is turned, and they will be convicted as either the weakest dupes or the most willing accomplices,—a little of both will be the ordinary case,—who ever toiled to lower the standard of human kind. In what point have we failed of perfect establishment; in what article have the blusterings raised against us been confirmed? Then turn to the only class who, as a class, have shown the wisdom of thoughtful or the moderation of civilized men, and urge them to study well and thoroughly the opportunities which may or must come out of these things before they are done with, for raising themselves from being the negroes of the constitution, and for taking their places as brethren and equals.

On Friday entertaining accounts were given of some of the

results of the attempts at establishing a system of competition for commissions in the army. And this leads to a subject which does not appear to have been included in any of those praiseworthy efforts. In the actual state of society and that to which it is advancing, more provision must be made for promoting men who have entered the army as private soldiers. Not that there is an entire absence of such provision now ; though I am afraid, from appearances, it is going backward rather than forward. For instance, in the cavalry, the Riding-master was almost invariably a man who had entered in the ranks, and the office was considered as the prize of the oldest and best conducted non-commissioned officer in that line of duty. And this, I understand, has been altered, by appointing a non-commissioned Riding-master as fast as vacancies occurred, instead of his being, as formerly, a lieutenant in the regiment, with succession to the higher ranks on the same footing as others. The Adjutancy and the Regimental Quartermastership were openings of the same kind ; and the latter has been cut down, as far as regards the right of succession to a captaincy, though the Quartermaster is still considered as holding the rank of lieutenant in the regiment, but not included in the list. The Adjutant in a regiment, is so exactly what the head manager is in a factory, that there is a necessity for bidding his price, and too happy to get him ; and therefore he holds his own.

The defect, I apprehend, is still more marked in the scientific corps. If Isaac Newton and Napoleon Bonaparte in their youth had entered into the foot or horse artillery, or into the sappers and miners, I do not suppose it would be in the art of man to make them second lieutenants of Artillery or Engineers. I remember at Buenos Ayres a troop-quartermaster of horse artillery of the name of Hay particularly distinguished himself, and was an object of great interest on his return to England. Something I believe was done for him in the way of giving him an appointment as a store-keeper ; but that was not the way the French made field-m Marshals.

At the same time nothing is clearer, than that for such an advancement to take place, particularly in a scientific corps, the man must have the requisite knowledge, to be proved by rigid examination. But why should not the means be provided for his obtaining that knowledge ? If the Scotch shepherd lad who re-invented Euclid, had chanced to enlist in the artillery, why should not the means have been provided for his pursuit of study ? Would it have been the of a good artillery-officer, or not ?

I would note here as an entire mistake, the idea which has been set on foot, that officers who have been raised from the ranks suffer under any disparagement or neglect. On the contrary, there is not an aristocratic colonel nor captain of a troop or company, if he have any sense about him, who is not conscious of the value of such a man, and the intimate acquaintance he has with things of which themselves have but a darkling knowledge. In three cases out of four, he is a sort of regimental favourite; a special foster-father to young officers who join, giving them good-natured hints on the mysteries of the manual and platoon, and encouraging them to go through their first guard-mounting with audacity and composure of spirit. The colonel too knows full well the difference between a man cognizant of the little weaknesses and infirmities of the private soldier and non-commissioned officer, and a boy fresh from school to whom all these are an unknown land. People in all ranks find out the useful, and make use of it accordingly. A time will come, if it is not now, when the consideration of this subject will press itself on the holders of office.

On Monday was the contest on the Oaths Bill, A preliminary division connected with a desire on the part of the Roman Catholics to make some alterations in their oath, was carried in the negative by more than 5 to 1; through no ill-will to the Roman Catholics, who manifestly behaved very well throughout, but from a belief that it was damaging to the main object of the Bill. The discussion of the general question followed, led by the opponents of the Bill in a spirit redolent of the middle ages. Their stock of argument consisted of little but the old,—“We are a nation that never admitted Jews to parliament, therefore we cannot admit them now, because we should cease to be a nation that never admitted Jews to parliament.” Curious proofs were given, on both sides, how far we are from the time when inquiry is wrought out and nothing more to learn. All professions have their besetting fallacies; and that of the lawyers and publicists is, that they never can conceive of the difference between law as it is and law as it ought to be. Bentham is the only man who has distinctly seen the difference. *Justice*, is from *jus*, law; and *jus* is from *jussum*, the thing that is ordered. Therefore, say the lawyers, *justice* is what is according to law. Which sturdy laymen are tempted utterly to deny; because the law may be unjust. This shows that *justice* has several meanings. In the lawyer's sense, it may mean what chances to be according to law; and it is also used to mean a justice

of the peace. But it is no more confined to the first of these senses, than to the second; and in the heart and understanding of mankind at large, it means neither a law nor a man, but what ought to be the *law*, for the *man* to execute.

In the same way, "civil liberty" was defined to be "the liberty of doing everything which is not prohibited by the law of the land;" and I am afraid an illustrious supporter of the good cause has, in his youth perhaps, lapsed into something like a definition of this kind. Sift this. Is there, or was there ever a country, in which civil liberty was beaten down? If so, by what instrument was this effected, but by the law of the land? How then can the law of the land be the measure of civil liberty?

The meaning of "right" lies under the same kind of cloud. In one of the inimitable military caricatures of Charlet in France, the corporal is represented as mystifying a gaping recruit who stands by with broom in hand; "You have a right to do your fatigue-duty and sweep the barrack-yard, and the Minister-of-War himself could not hinder you." This is a specimen of some men's rights. The coloured man in Virginia has a right to be flogged when his owner chooses, and in India to be blown from a gun if he does not put pork into his mouth when his officer bids him.

The Conservative definition of "religious liberty" will hardly satisfy anybody but an Inquisitor. It was,—"the fullest and freest power of exercising your religious opinions according to the rites and in the way most agreeable to your own conscience, provided that in observing these rites you do not interfere with the conscience of others, or endanger the public peace." With this the Inquisitor is quite content. He says that to exercise any rites but those of his own church, is very shocking to the conscience of others and particularly his own; and he has a strong conviction that a mob would rise any day, either in Madrid, Toledo, Seville, or Lisbon, to put down any manner of Protestant, Presbyterian, Jew, Turk, or Heretic observances. *Ergo*, this is religious liberty.

The solution of the whole, is that all this is paltering, and that "right" in its higher sense means not what a man may happen to have, but what he ought to have. These things want the Mechanics' Institutes to take them in hand.

The division was finally of 297 to 144; more than 2 to 1.

On Tuesday leave was given to bring in a Bill to legalize Marriage with a deceased wife's sister, by a division of 105 to 62. The subject will be a fit one for entertainment during the approaching Easter vacation.

On Wednesday a Bill to do away with the exemption from valuation under the Act of 1854, of Deer Forests, Woodlands, Shootings, &c. in Scotland, was negatived without a division.
Yours, &c.

24 March, 1858.



BILL FOR TRANSFERRING INDIA TO THE CROWN.

XLII.

ON Thursday 25 March was a motion for doing away with the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; which was negatived by a large majority, there not being much to choose between a Lord Lieutenant and a Secretary of State for Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant being something very much like the Secretary domiciled in Dublin.

On the same day a Bill was brought in for disfranchising the Freemen of Galway, who it appears have been unlucky enough to be found out. The doctors in these cases will take any way, except the way that would strike at the connexion between the bribers and the bribed.

On Friday, motion was made to bring in a Bill for transferring the government of India to the Crown. The minister went through the details of his plans with inimitable gravity, in spite of the suppressed titters and sometimes unrepressed laughter of his audience. Indeed throughout, there was what the French call *hilarité dans la Chambre*. Such is the spirit in which men legislate, on one of the most important subjects that ever came before an assembly. Nobody stirred the question of whether it was not a "crowning madness" to bring in such a Bill at all. If ever there was a case where weighty reasons called for the examination of whether a Bill should be brought in, it was here. The extent to which proceedings in Parliament are discussed by the Natives of India is understood to be large and increasing. In the other House there was much that was calculated to add to the general disposition to resistance in India. What, for instance, could have a stronger tendency in this direction, than announcing to the Natives of India, and Mohammedans in particular, that it is intended to enlist *Kroomen* on the Coast of Africa, the most out-and-out Pagans and heathens in Mohammedan eyes which imagination could suggest, for the visible object as it will appear to them, of obliging true believers to put hog's lard into their mouths? And truly the good sense of the plan is on a par with the morality. Somebody has been hoaxing

a noble Lord, or else making an attack upon the public purse. To anybody acquainted with the Coast of Africa, the notion of hiring Kroomen to form a land corps and because they are marksmen, is the same kind of jest as proposing to raise a corps of sharp-shooters out of the watermen on the Thames, or a regiment of cuirassiers from the working shoemakers in London on account of their known habits of the *prælium equestre*. Unless great alterations in national manners have taken place, a Krooman never hit a mark yet. They were the laughter of the African public, for their non-militant qualities. They were a race entirely addicted to water-borne pursuits, including coming coast-wise for some hundred miles in a hollow tree two feet broad to seek employment. It was with great difficulty they would hire themselves for any labour that was not on the water; though in some instances they would engage for a piece of gardening-work, or for domestic service. I remember drinking tea with an English lady, when the tea-kettle was brought in by a black Hercules, with nothing but a pocket-handkerchief for a fig-leaf. The general body never wore clothes, except as above; but on one occasion a solemn deputation of Kroomen took place, when half-a-dozen of the head-men appeared in bed-gowns of what is called satin-stripe, to the great amusement of the Afro-English community. A Krooman appearing as witness at the quarter-sessions, after the book was put into his hand, was asked if he knew what would come to him if he told a lie; to which he replied with solemnity, "Massa, me know me go to hell," which the court instantly decided to be a good religious consciousness. And then he put out a tongue of unexampled length, and licked the book carefully from bottom to top; which broke up the gravity of the court, being followed by a burst of laughter, especially from the female part of the audience, inevitably leading to the conclusion that they had drawn inferences with respect to the mode of salutation in Kroo Country. But the important point to our subject is this. By particular request a field-day of Kroomen was had, for the purpose of testing their applicability to defence. They formed a loose line of three or four deep, squatting upon their hams, and then one at a time ran out to the front thirty or forty yards and fired his gun, like a prudent man carefully turning his head the other way, and then ran back again. I wish the noble lord joy of his light infantry. One danger however is absent. The Kroomen will not be carried off against their consent. The most daring slave-trader on the coast, dared not carry off a Krooman. They were essential

to the traffic on the Coast, as being employed in all the ships ; and they had a sort of free-masonry among them, by which if one Krooman was carried off, the whole of the Kroomen struck till he was brought back again. It was said that a slaver once carried one to the West Indies, and was obliged to produce him again safe and sound.

To try this simply on the ground of worldly wisdom, suppose that the Spanish Armada had met with more success than it did, and had effected a permanent lodgment on some part of the English territory ; and that it had thence proceeded, by a mixture of force and appeal to partial interests, to induce considerable portions of the country to admit the supremacy of the Iberian strangers, and among other things to consent to the raising an army for their service, under ardent promises of respect for the religious opinions and prejudices of the heretical Saxon. And imagine that a time came when the foreigner said, "It was all very well to make promises when we were weak and small, but promises made in weakness are to be broken in strength. You always knew that we never meant to keep our promises longer than we were obliged to it ; the knowledge therefore was part and parcel of the original contract, and we have a dispensation from the University of Salamanca to that effect. Our order now is, that your soldiers take the Host into their mouths ; it will be made up regimentally, and be as small as conveniently may be. If they decline, we shall blow them from guns, and the first literary men in Spain are prepared to record the grimaces of a Protestant under such an operation." Imagine that in this manner Iberian wisdom had begun a thorough war of savages, and out-heroded all the simple Herods of Pagan or mediæval times ; and then by way of moderating the storm, the depositaries of power in Spain had ventilated the two following plans. First, that the moment should be chosen for changing the form of viceregal government under which in some preceding periods considerable quiet had been enjoyed, and transferring it into immediate connexion with that Spanish royalty, of which none but terrific ideas could be entertained. And secondly, that grandees of the first class proclaimed the design to govern England through legions levied on the Barbary coast, joined to recruiting among such classes in England as should be found most clean swept of all religion, all respectability, and all character. Omitting other considerations, what would be the worldly wisdom of such plans ! If anybody at peace with Spain should have been found sending fifty thousand stand of arms to the English insur-

gents, the act would probably have been pronounced to be against the comity of nations; yet what would the effect of it have been, compared with the other? And here it is we are. It is to be feared there is no hope, unless the country could be roused to comprehend the "crowning madness" which is contemplated. Add to this, the treatment of the King of Delhi, which might be supposed to have been dictated by a desire to set Europe upon recollections of an act, bearing comparatively small proportion to it in disgracefulness to a civilized nation, occurring some forty and odd years ago. I foresee too, that the 70th Regiment of Sepoys at Canton are going to be massacred. The *Times* of yesterday through its special correspondent, calls for their caste notions being "flogged out of the scoundrels, by the application of the drummers and boatswains' mates of the force." A number of them too, have been shot by the French. The next thing will be, that they will be drawn up conveniently for slaughter, and the men who refuse to abandon their faith given up to the boatswains' mates. And then the rest will resist, and the scene of Meerut be repeated. Part of what is to be flogged out of these unfortunate men is stated to be, that they lived for sixteen days on bran and water, from a religious scruple against cooking on the sea. It is clear enough, that it is to be conversion by the cat-o'-nine-tails; which may come to you or me next. What a horror, when a country's character and honour are in such hands! I fear there is nothing to be done but say, "Fill up the measure of your impolicy, and those who live will see how such statesmanship gets out of the scrape."

Yours, &c.

31 *March*, 1858.



ON MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.
(AN ARGUMENT.)

XLIII.

THE unreasonableness of the law as it at present stands, is breaking out in so many ways, that it is not a service of much merit to put together the grounds of a demand for alteration.

However the acknowledgment may be attempted to be evaded in the present day, no man seriously doubts that the main ground on which the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been and continues to be supported, is the suggestion or belief, that it is prohibited in the book of

Leviticus, and that the book of Leviticus is or ought to be part and parcel of British law.

These then are two points to be taken in hand, with as little as possible of offence to the holders of contrary opinions. But in which order shall they be taken? For, whichever is taken first, something like an air of absurdity will be thrown over the attempt to mend our position by applying to the other, for the benefit of those who have failed to be convinced by the first. The way therefore seems to be to avow, that it is intended to support two equal propositions,—first, that the prohibition is not in the book of Leviticus,—secondly, that if it was, it would be no rule for British legislation.

The 18th chapter of Leviticus contains prohibitions of what would undeniably in the main be most inconvenient family connexions; but without any mention of marriage, *except in the place or places which happen to concern the present argument.* There is no statement that a man may not connect himself with his father's wife, "to vex his father in his life time;" if there had, it would have been conclusive evidence that he was at liberty to do it afterwards. But there is such an addition in the case of the wife's sister, and the prohibition is limited to taking the second sister "in the other's life time," a practice to which the polygamic habits of the Israelites then and long afterwards presented a temptation.

In the same place is a prohibition relating to the parallel case of a brother's wife; but it is only necessary to look a little onward (Deuteronomy chap. 25,) to find a special order that when the brother dies, the surviving brother (nothing said about his having previous wives or not) is to take the widow "to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her." In default of which the injured woman was to "spit in his face," with other indignities then and there in public inflicted, and the recreant's name was to be handed down in Israel, with an epithet significant of his refusal to "perform the duty of an husband's brother." It is true that in another place (Lev. xx. 21) connexion with a brother's wife is declared "unclean," and "they shall be childless." Did then Leviticus direct one thing and Deuteronomy another; or was the direction in Leviticus aimed at abuse of family confidence and the opportunities arising out of the habits of affinity? It is for the theologians to choose.

But supposing there were doubt, and there were some who held that this spitting in a man's face proved that marriages of affinity were prohibited, come we to the argument, that the Levitical law is no rule for the British, and that legislation

is to be conducted on the principle of directing what now, and not three thousand years ago, is for the good of the community concerned. No man would dream in these days, of executing the enactments of the Levitical law,—of inflicting capital punishment for fornication, sabbath-breaking, and profane swearing, which would require (as the Rev. Sidney Smith cruelly frightened the poor boy withal) a private gallows in every justice of the peace's back room. If these portions then of the Levitical law are not to be executed, who is it that determines what parts shall be executed and what not; for this man, and not Leviticus, is the real lawgiver? This is enough to prove, that the Levitical law is by itself no more of the law of England, than the canon, civil, or *jus gentium*. The English law takes out of any of these just what it likes, and anything it likes it goes against.

Proceeding then to argue the case on the same ground as other laws, to wit the well-being of individuals and the community, the facts which present themselves are these. In the course of nature a certain average number of the marriages contracted will be dissolved by death, leaving young children deprived of a mother's care. An actuary would tell at once what the proportion is; and whatever he says, let it be. Under these circumstances, as keenly afflictive as any that fall to the lot of human kind, there is but one woman in the world, disposed by previous habits to look upon the orphans without dislike,—one woman in the whole world the father can take to supply the place of a mother to his children, with a probability that they shall be received with kindness and not with disgust,—and this one woman *the wiseacres that rule over us say they will bastardize his future issue if he takes*. But they tell us a man ought not to look at his sister-in-law as his future wife, during the life-time of the other. No more ought he at any other woman; by the same rule all second marriages should be prohibited. The whole of it forms a memorable instance, how easy it is to legislate for other people.

An effort has been made to prevent change by putting forward women to object. It would be interesting to know what kind of women they are, who cry, "Save us from our sisters." It is not the feeling of women generally, nor natural to the female mind. At the time when the last alterations were made in the law, which legalized previous marriages as the machinery for gratifying malevolence in the future, a respected member of the House of Commons said to me, with tears in his eyes more than aged men are wont to shed, that he had married his wife's sister in pursuance of the last request.

of his dying wife, and had lived in fears and apprehensions which he was only too glad to put an end to, by supporting the Bill before the House.

Such have been the consequences among the wealthier classes ; but among those who possess less of the conveniences of life, the results are still more painful. A working man who loses his wife leaving many children, has scarcely any resource but begging his wife's sister to come and assist them in their desolation. The result in a great number of cases, is that worst disgrace to legislators, the necessity for setting their legislation at defiance. There is no magic about the word law ; men obey the law because there is an impression that it aims at the general good. But if there is an impression to the contrary, men soon learn to be a law unto themselves, and not only on the unsound point, but on others too. So dangerous is it to play tricks with the public veneration.

It may not be without its use, to examine into the foundation for those prohibitions upon marriage, in which all civilized nations are agreed. And the foundation is simply this,—the necessity for putting a strong bar against the irregularities which might ensue from young people of different sexes being brought up under circumstances of great familiarity, or from the influence of seniors over unsuspecting youth. As the heavens are made by rule and measure, and there is given to man a reason on these subjects corresponding, as far as it goes, with the divine, so any rule on moral questions, proceeding from divine authority, will to a certainty be found accordant with the reason vouchsafed to man, and not framed on caprice or an inexplicable will of the lawgiver. The variations under different circumstances, point to the principle. The father of the faithful was married to his own half-sister ; and in the family of the man after God's own heart, a proposal to like effect does not appear to have been considered as anything preposterous or improper. The author of the "*Esprit des Loix*" explains it all, by noting that in polygamic families the rule has always obtained. The wives have separate establishments, as far off from each other as can be contrived ; and the children have about the same degree of intercourse with one another as cousins in Europe. There is a notion among our country people in Yorkshire, that marriage between first cousins is lawful, but second cousins not. On which it has occurred, that second cousins might be a mistake for "cousins once removed ;" in whose case there really appears to be something like the same reason for prohibition as in the case of a brother's or sister's children. A

man ought not to be speculating on marrying the child he plays with on his knee. They are of a different generation ; which makes one half of the reasons for such prohibitions at all. The wife's sister does not come under any head of this kind. There is no familiarity in infancy, and no influence of adult age over childhood ; the parties are of the same generation, and not brought up together. Entirely contrary is the position of the wife's niece ; with whom there might almost be supposed to have been a malicious determination to embarrass the question. She is of a younger generation, and the proprieties which lay a man under restraint in respect of his wife's nieces, are every whit as palpable as in respect of his own. There is no rule of policy clearer, than not to embarrass a good case with a bad one. *Who* have married their wives' nieces ? *Who want* to marry their wives' nieces ? A man was found to have married his grandmother, or at least his grandfather's girl-widow. If any body thinks the case a hard one, he has a right to his opinions ; but it would be miraculously ill policy to burthen the Wife's Sister's question with it in parliament.

In the Bill at present before the House of Commons, everything appears to have been done to reduce the question to the smallest magnitude by cutting away all that could be dispensed with. On a late occasion when the question of marriages was before the House, a very eminent lawyer was so unadvised as to say, there was no instance of a marriage and its consequences, which at one period of law had been declared illegitimate, being declared legitimate at another. On which he was asked by a layman, how many times priests' marriages and their offspring had been declared legitimate and illegitimate, in the period between Henry VIII. and James I. The precedent is worth looking into.

On the whole there appears reason to believe that the question is making its way as others have done before it, and as beyond all rational doubt others are destined to do after.

Yours, &c.

7 April, 1858.



WAKING OF THE EAST INDIA DIRECTORS.—STADE DUTIES.

XLIV.

THE most interesting occurrence in the week, is that the Directors of the East India Company have summoned resolution to look into their case as they ought to have done.

sooner, and turn a feather in show of opposition, to what half the country in their secret souls think has been justly called the "crowning madness."

The Directors have got more than halfway to the discovery, that it is because the old system worked well to the extent of effecting what they rightly say has only been accomplished twice in human history, in their own case and in the Roman empire,—that it is precisely because this old system worked comparatively well, and the abandonment of it in important points has led to the actual horrors and national disgraces,—that it is precisely for this reason, and with no excuse offered as a buffer against the manifest absurdity, that the moment is chosen to say, remove the thing that has done well, and install in triumph the authors of the mischief.

Nothing is clearer in this world, than that things do not always turn out according to the prospects of the projectors; and, which is only the other side of the case, that things of importance often turn out with scarcely any visible prospects to begin with. When Romulus and Remus were under nurture of the wolf, there was very little foresight in man or beast, of what was to come out of that unpromising process. There was little more, when the first Charter was granted to a London company of merchants under Elizabeth; but still the things came. The merchants, with true mercantile skill, did in the main wisely and well as the emergencies arose; though they would have been as much puzzled to foretell what the emergencies would be, as a subject of King Latinus to tell when a Roman general should land in Britain. Like the Romans, they went the way to do their work, and left to their successors in after centuries to undo it. They threw out broad sensible principles to suit the time; and, with the help perhaps of some luck, they had the success which they deserved. They began by being traders, bagmen; but by-and-by the bagmen got stores worth somebody's taking, and thereupon began to look out for the means of defence. And in this they found no great difficulty in any quarter. The sensible portion of the Natives with whom they wished to trade, acknowledged it was fair enough and for the general advantage they should have defence; and thereupon they set about hiring a force for the defence of themselves and factories against all assailants. And this they found as easy, as in travelling through the Bheel countries now, and perhaps not many centuries ago in Scotland, to hire a guard who for pay will guard you against all other robbers. Of course they said to their recruits, "You shall be well treated. The last

thing that shall be done to you, shall be to force pig's fat into your mouths if you are Mohammedan, or cow's suet if Hindoo. We are traders, not crusaders. Serve us faithfully, and prevent unlicensed interference with our goods and chattels, and you shall be as comfortable as we know how to make you."

And here perhaps there ought to have been called together a conclave of bishops, and the question solemnly put, of "Is it lawful to levy an army of men not Christians? And if so, are compacts to be kept with heretics, or what is worse, with heathens?" These points ought to have been discussed in time, and not left to posterity to settle by saying We are strong now and were weak when we made the compact; *therefore* we will blow you from guns if you do not open your mouths for any manner of fat it may be our pleasure to direct.

Things however for the time went on, and the Company, scarce knowing why, waxed strong and mighty. Defence implied attack, and attack produced retaliation, and retaliation conquest. The traders soon found themselves obliged to turn statesmen and generals, or if they did not do it in their proper persons (though they did *that* sometimes) to rear statesmen and generals by liberal encouragement to the professors of those arts. In this their fortune was only second to that of their only resemblance in human history, the founders of the empire of Rome. And in this, like the Romans, they went to work like reasonable men. Just as little notion as the Romans had of demanding from a Dacian legion an acquiescence in some abstract proposition from Cicero *De Naturâ Deorum*, had they of requiring the assent of a Mohammedan regiment of horse to the impropriety of disliking hog's lard. Not but that now and then a blockhead of a general officer contrived to get up a quarrel and a massacre, on questions of hair, or beard, or leather, or form of turban or small-clothes. But there was sense enough in the merchant princes of England to put all these down in the long run. It was not till generations had passed over the heads of the original Directors, that the horrible freak was thought of, to massacre the Native army as it stood, with a view to replace it with something to be made avowedly out of the acum of the earth, partly from Indian resources, and partly from any other quarter where a barbarian was to be had or stolen for money. This was the grand British idea, of the middle of the nineteenth century. Will not the tyrants and world-destroyers of antiquity get up a laugh in their uneasy

quarters wherever they may be, and say Is this what she is come to after all ?

It may be useful to try to trace, how it was that the Directors did not find out all this before, and throw themselves earlier on the good sense of that portion of the country, which is neither drunk with blood, nor desirous of arriving at that stage of pleasing excitement. The reasons are probably, first, the difficulty of refusing to follow a multitude to do evil ; especially when backed by the cry of "Thou art not *Cæsar's friend*." Secondly, a not very clear insight into the true state of the case ; for though some men from the impartiality of their position, and the habitude of looking at events as they look upon the past and as posterity will look upon the present, make up their minds more quickly than others,—this is not to be demanded of the average of a Corporation. And lastly, an implication to some certain extent, in the temptations which have led so many persons who in private life have never picked a purse or cut a throat, to support or at least be slack in resisting, the plague-spot in history on which our evil days have fallen. Thus religious men delight to hope, that all this evil will have been done that good may come. There was probably many a well-meaning man, who after the day of St. Bartholomew felt lively hopes, that now the triumph of the true church was at hand, and though he would neither have loaded a arquebuse nor pointed a rapier in that consummation, was constrained in conscience to hold himself in readiness to thankfully accept the consequences. Thus in one of the worst moments of the British felonies in China, a missionary was in the rear (I have a notion he was an American) parodying the splendid passage of the chiefest of Apostles, which tells how "our light affliction, which is but for a moment," shall "work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Forgetting—the poor man—that the Apostle spoke of one set of individuals, and he the missionary spoke of two. The missionary was bounding on the instruments of British dishonour to the slaughter of existing Chinamen ; and the weight of glory was at all events to fall on somebody else. Nevertheless mistakes of this kind are quite human. There would be a reduction of mankind to something like the limits of the ark, if it were demanded to cut us down to perfection on this point.

And then the commercial men. Look at them in the places up and down the country where they most do congregate. Men who are hardly ever brought up for worse than smoking in a railway carriage, and among whom any-

thing like homicide on a small scale, was never heard of. Yet these men are sitting, as the newspaper they pay for will show, gloating over every tale of British treachery in India, and lusting with the sharp greed of hungry vultures for more slaughter. They are not bad men, as men go; but they are not men to trust your soul to, nor a country's honour either if it could be helped. They yield to their peculiar besetments. They have a notion of wiping up blood with cotton. They think that when the war has been carried out against the religion and respectability of all in India but themselves, there will be pickings for the owners of plantations, and low wages. No man must be judged too severely; Indian Directors among the rest. They may have been led away to some extent like others; and of that must take the consequences.

But after all, it is a great point, that they have found out that neither of the two Bills is consistent with common sense and honour. Why should the chance be laboriously taken, of stirring up the embers of resistance, by announcing a change which can only be construed into a design to turn whips into scorpions?—And why—after all the fuss about loyalty which is made when there is no occasion for it—is the Queen's name to be held forth in India as that of executioner in chief; cannot those who did the mischief take the blame? A reign too, that so far as bad servants were away, would have been the purest, the holiest, in human annals,—why is it to run the risk of having attached to it, in the notions of two hundred millions of people, the abhorrent epithet which belongs to one only in the muster-roll of queens? Look at the men, pompous, mouthing, and mock-dignified, whose lip-service would pretend that anything that touched a hair of the head of England's sovereignty made life a burthen to them; and see how they sit tongue-tied and chap-fallen, bowing before a sanguinary press and a duped multitude, and leaving to the honest peasant and the intelligent artisan to defend the star of England from such abasement, if it is to be defended at all. Perhaps some of this is going to mend. Let all who have the sense, stand by to help.

On Monday 12 April the House met according to adjournment. There are symptoms of both the India Bills being *shaky*; and opinion in the House runs high, that there will be no "crowning madness" this year. Second only in mischief to the "madness," will be the attempt without the deed.

The Oaths Bill was read a third time and passed, without a word from any quarter.

A motion to refer the Army and Navy Estimates to a Select Committee, was negatived by 161 to 24. If nothing can be done to keep down the Estimates directly, what was to come out of moving to refer them to a Select Committee? Movements of this kind serve only to parade weakness.

On Tuesday motion was made for the appointment of a Committee on the Stade Duties, and ended by the government acceding. As this is a subject exciting attention in your neighbourhood, it may be useful to set down the following points. In disputes of this kind, the cleanliest way is to buy. What then is it likely the duties in question would be sold for? Would they be sold for the market value of the present annual tolls, deduction made of the expenses of collection? It is most likely they would be sold for half of it; but put the other. If then, as may be supposed to be the case, the commerce of England in those quarters is increasing, this, as far as money is concerned, would be a good bargain for futurity. Under what circumstances then would a government, acting as a just steward for the public, be warranted in advancing the requisite amount, out of the taxes paid by the community at large? If the trade on which these tolls pressed was a trade in Tokay wine, then the consumers of Tokay might be the people who in the long run would receive the main benefit; and it would not be fair to tax all the payers of the Income Tax for the benefit of the drinkers of Tokay. But if the trade was in articles of universal consumption, then the benefit would be general, and it would be a good bargain for all to pay. To represent the merchants and traders as the persons on whom the benefit would mainly fall, would be a mistake. They would have advantages, in escaping from annoyance, and in the increase of their trade. But the amount of the tolls would not remain in their pockets, but go to the consumers in the inevitable reduction of prices. If any portions of this are approved at Bradford or neighbourhood, I would recommend throwing them into the shape of Petitions to the House.

Yours, &c.

14 April, 1858.



TENANTS' COMPENSATION BILL.—BALLOT.—THE BUDGET.—
GALWAY DISFRANCHISEMENT.—CHURCH-RATES.

XLV.

On Wednesday 14 April the Tenants' Compensation (Ireland) Bill was moved to be read a Second Time. There appears to be intense interest in Ireland on the subject, and the end will be that something will be done; though it does not follow that the thing is at present in a state in which the nail will drive. The question will require a statesman, when there is one to spare.

It is easy to put forward blunt objections, and say the rights of a landlord over his property must not be interfered with. If there are evils resulting from the actual state of things, it is within the scope of a statesman to consider whether they are to any extent remediable without producing greater harm. That the rights of property are not a *taboo'd* subject which man is forbidden to inquire into, was well illustrated by some of the Irish members, who quoted the American who said "Is not this a free country, and is not he *mine*?" The Irish landlords are some of them disposed to say of their tenant, "Is not he *mine*?"

The case for the Bill appears to be this. Irish landlords are apt to see the tenant spending large sums upon improvements, and then on the occurrence of some dispute about voting or other matter, use their right to eject. It curiously enough came out,—and I had the pleasure of mentioning it on the same evening to a Meeting of the Ballot Society at the Freemasons' Tavern,—that some of the landlords in Ireland claim a right to interfere with marriages in the tenant's family, and turn out the tenant if there is a marriage without his consent. Surely it is only one step more, to the *droit du seigneur*.

The question therefore will at some time reduce itself, to whether there cannot be by legal arrangement some specification of contract between landlord and tenant, whereby it shall be from time to time made known and determined, what are the tenant's improvements, and what the landlord's; the prize in view, being that the country may be improved. It does not appear impossible, that at some time the wisdom of man may do something in this direction. Ballot would do a good deal towards cutting down the evil; but of course, that must be last. The debate on the Second Reading was adjourned to 9 June.

Having named the Ballot Society, I will mention another

point I tried to lay before them at the same Meeting. The opponents of the Ballot have felt embarrassed by the constant reference to the Members of a Court Martial swearing to conceal one another's votes and their own. A parliamentary leader is understood to have proposed that the privilege of these officers should be given up, rather than the Ballot allowed. Is not this as if we were outside passengers on a coach, and begged piteously to be taken in? Whereupon the insiders say, "No; but if you please, we will come out." Query, what good would that do to us.

On Thursday, debate on a motion for causing all expenses for the erection and maintenance of Lighthouses, Floating Lights, Buoys, and Beacons, on the Coast of the United Kingdom, to be henceforth defrayed out of the Public Revenue. The motion was finally withdrawn; but the subject is likely to appear again. On which I take the opportunity to note, that the question of the Lighthouses is not identical in kind with that of the Stated Duties; and therefore if Lighthouses are beaten, it does not follow that the Stated Duties should be so too.

On Friday little of note was done but vote supplies. The velocity with which twenty millions are voted at a time, produces an effect on the spectator like the machinery by which the *Times* newspaper throws its copies into the world.

On Monday question was asked, whether the government would give directions to continue the war in China till the Chinese paid the losses of the British merchants by the war. This is the story of the native horsemen in the East, who take a lamb from the shepherd and eat it, and then make a demand on him for "teeth money" to pay them for their trouble. Would it not have been many degrees better to propose paying the opium-dealers the amount of their losses out of the Consolidated Fund? For it is evident that to get the amount out of the Chinese by war, something like a million may be spent for every hundred thousand pounds. The government gave an evasive kind of answer; amounting to saying they would take care to do what was right. By which may be understood, that they will do as much that is wrong as they think expedient.

After this, came on what is called the Budget. It presents a curious parallel, to what has been witnessed by everybody who has attended to the movements of a spendthrift in distress. Payment of Exchequer Bills for this year is to be put off, interest of course being paid upon the same; and a sum understood to have been appropriated to clearing off old debts

under the title of Sinking Fund, is to be laid hands on, with the same economical result. This is exactly what John and Peter do when they have outrun the constable ; but John and Peter are not men of consideration among their neighbours. The Income Tax, as everybody knows, is a struggle to settle whether the taxes shall be paid by men in general according to their means, or whether they shall fall unfairly on the industrious and poor. There was a good deal of playing fast and loose on this question ; ending in a determination to keep it as it is, but cockering up the anti-tax-paying rich with the notion that the tax was to be put an end to in 1860. One source of consolation put forward, was that there was no apparent falling-off in the ability of the community to pay taxes. Which is much as if an annuitant at £100 a-year who had spent £150, was comforted by reflection on the fact that his annuity had not been cut down to £50. When saving was alluded to, answer was ready, that it was impossible to make savings cover expenditure. And this lets out the truth. The mischief is in the expenditure on fireworks. If it is determined there shall be fireworks, it is impossible to pay for them by cheese-parings in the process. The fact is that two trades in England are to go ahead at the expense of the rest,—the trade of unjust or piratical war, including soldier, sailor, ships, guns, provisions, and munitions of warfare,—and the trade of the news-venders who are to sell the history of their exploits. And into this gulf,—for nobody pretends it makes any returns,—the labour of the industrious classes is to be thrown. Which will so continue, till the industrious classes have the sense to think it should be mended.

In all directions the indications of shuffling off the evil day are amusingly manifest. We were comforted with the assurance that the country is in a progressive state, and therefore will be better able to pay its debts in 1860 than at present. As if the demands on a country did not grow as fast as its abilities to pay. Everybody knows what, in the case of an individual, comes of these resolutions to be very good two or three years hence. We were also complimented with the representation, that the country was at profound peace. As if everybody did not know, that we were engaged in two wars of which no man can foretell the termination, besides the chances of what may come out of the position nearer home. On one hand we have the government saying, "It is impossible to reduce expenditure, because you are sending fleets and armies to China and India," and on the other we hear, "You are at profound peace, therefore there is no need to pay just

now." As if piracy was not as expensive as honourable war, or filibustering filled a nation's pockets. There was an allusion made to "Sycee silver" in Monday night's debate, which would have been better in the mouth of a hungry Norseman of old time. We are pirates, and the drudges of pirates.

The Resolutions for the "crowning madness" are in print. They simply say, "Inasmuch as there always was a power to use a knife, let us seize the present moment to divide the carotid artery."

On Tuesday Mr. Cox moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Septennial Act, and limit the duration of Parliaments to Three Years. Which was negatived by 254 to 57. The lion was never known to pare his own claws. If it is done, it must be by pressure from his masters.

On the same evening, great perplexity on the Galway Freeman Disfranchisement Committee. What was clear, was that dishonesty was intended, in inviting a set of men to accuse themselves on promise of indemnity, and then splitting hairs upon the terms. It was treating them as you treat your sepoy; make a compact with them first, and blow them from guns when the question is of keeping it.

On Wednesday, after long debates in which the object of the opponents of the Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates appeared to be to stave off coming to a trial of strength by a division, the motion to report progress (which means delay) was negatived by 346 to 104. A pretty good indication for the future.

Yours, &c.

21 April, 1858.



THE ANSWER OF THE ORACLE ON INDIA.—CHURCH-RATES.—
EAST INDIA DIRECTORS' LETTER.

XLVI.

On Thursday 22 April a motion for leave to bring in a Bill to abolish the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, was carried without a division. The same thing occurred some time ago, and was set aside by the promise of a Reform Bill.

A motion for bringing the diplomatic service more immediately under the supervision of parliament, was supported by 114 against 142. A good muster of independent men, seeing all the three chiefs were on the other side. There were

a great many "pairs;" so that the smallness of the difference is significant.

On Friday an important question was asked, on the conduct the government had directed to be followed in India in general, and in Oude in particular, under existing circumstances. The organ of the government, in two distinct responses of the oracle, replied with the mysterious phrase of "toleration." I vehemently doubt whether this was an answer, except in the oracular sense. The spirit of the question was, whether an attempt was to be made to slaughter a hundred thousand men, who had been driven to resistance by point-blank attack on their religious principles, such as every man in this country in turn, would in his own case think it honour and glory to resist to the death. And the answer is, that the government had recommended "toleration." What is "toleration"? Is the word meant to deceive? Does it mean that a recommendation has been sent out, that the Mohammedan and Hindoo religions should be allowed to exist? What bearing is that to have on the question proposed? Time will show; and in the meanwhile let him be deceived that chooses.

On Monday was the motion that the Indian Resolutions be taken into consideration on Friday. Artificial legs and arms were proposed, and their several merits discussed by the most scientific artists their inventors; but nobody told us why we should not keep our old. It is a curious instance of the slowness with which external things make their way into this assembly, that nobody once mooted or alluded to what is so strongly felt out of doors as to have taken the expression of "the crowning madness." Nevertheless a feeling is slowly gathering; which expressed itself on Monday by an Amendment moved by the member for Galway, to the effect that it was inexpedient to legislate at present. Objection was raised on the ground that notice ought to have been given. It is hard to say why members had not a right to vote on an Amendment, as much as to vote against the original motion. But the opposition availed to the extent of inducing the mover to withdraw his Amendment; though a great amount of opinion was drawn out during the discussion which took place on it, and the question is manifestly gaining strength and courage. As the Amendment must appear in the Votes and in the newspapers, there is probably not much difference between the thing as it stands and a minority; except that the members of the minority would have been known to one another and to the public.

In the early part of the debate the member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Gladstone) made a speech which looked very much as if he was coming out as fourth man. And it was an extensive opinion in the House, that if he had pushed his point, he might have carried a majority with him and quashed the Resolutions. Instead of this, he left the House, and as John Bunyan would say, "we saw him no more."

On Tuesday Mr. Locke King's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to extend the Franchise in Counties in England and Wales, and to improve the representation of the People in respect of such Franchise, was agreed to without a division.

Mr. Puller moved that the House should on the morrow resolve itself into a Committee for changing Church Rates into an annual rent charge upon all hereditaments in respect of which Church Rates may now be lawfully assessed.

The ground stated for this, was that Church Rates do not fall upon the payers, but upon the landlords and owners of property. As if none of the landlords and owners were Dissenters. It is manifestly the mistake of that benevolent cleanser of chimneys, who proposed relieving the suffering goose, by substituting a couple of ducks for the operation of being dragged down. The motion, after a good deal of useful debate, was negatived by 317 to 54.

On Wednesday long debate on the motion for Second Reading of the Agricultural Statistics Bill; being a Bill for collecting and publishing the number of acres from year to year under cultivation. The agriculturists objected, that it would do very little good, and that it would be very unpopular among the tenant farmers, whom there was no use in displeasing; though at the same time in this they were not unanimous. Nevertheless they had considerable show of reason. I do not suppose it would be popular at Bradford, that manufacturers should be obliged to chronicle the amount of their proceedings, and every new mile of buildings they construct they should be obliged to make a note of, for the information of their rivals. All men like to have curtains to their own windows; and some like to look into the windows of their neighbours. On which the fairest mode of settlement perhaps is, that nobody should be asked to take down his curtains without his consent. The Second Reading was negatived by 241 against 135.

There has this day been printed for the House of Commons a Copy "of a Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated the 24th day of March,

1858, relative to the Policy to be pursued towards the Natives of Provinces lately in a state of Hostility ;" which is worthy of men who, if let alone, would have governed empires. But, mind, it is from the Court of Directors, and not from any ministry. It says what it has to say, and presents no oracular obscurity.

Yours, &c.

28 April, 1858.



MAYNOOTH.—INDIA RESOLUTIONS.—MOLDAVIAN AND
WALLACHIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

XLVII.

ON Thursday 29 April was the annual attack upon Maynooth. Which was defeated by a vote of 210 against 155.

There is a scheme apparently on foot for buying up Maynooth. It strikes me that the thing is better as it is. As it stands, it is a constant acknowledgment of the principle of religious equality, or at all events of some approach to it. The object of buying up, is that this acknowledgment may be taken out of sight, and of course forgotten.

When an Empire has just been thrown away through inability to comprehend the principle of equality for religions, is not an inappropriate time for entering on the general question. All history, which is experience, proves, that there can be no peace in any country where diversities of religion exist, but either by the practical recognition of something like equal rights, or after long struggles the reduction of one party or the other to something bordering closely on slavery. The questions of whether a Dissenter in England shall be mulcted of his chairs and tables to support another sect, and whether a Native soldier in India shall be blown from a gun for not taking swine's flesh into contact with his mouth, have a common element, though there is happily some difference in the penalty exacted.

If it is asked what would be the *beau idéal* of religious equality among sects in England, it would clearly be that there should be no public support to sects of any kind, but all be left to support their own institutions their own way. But as in this world it often happens that the *beau idéal* cannot be obtained, we must submit to the concession of taking the next best. It happens that in England there is a power-

ful and wealthy religious establishment of one kind, which once on a time was the point on which the great game for national independence was played, and which still has a hold on the attachment of large masses of the community. Here then is a bar, and one which is likely to last our time. Under the circumstances, there can be no wonder that the Irish Catholics say, "Give us something too. In England it may be urged, that the people changed as well as the church. But it was not so here; we stand as we were; give us therefore a something, that our priests may learn to read their breviaries in comfort." And in this truly, there appears nothing that is unjust. But it is gall and wormwood to those who desire to rule by the right of interpreting what is according to the law of God. The would-be theocracy cannot endure it; and they would give us all in our turns a twig of the same rod if they were able. Happily their power seems not on the advance.

On Friday the debate on the Indian Resolutions. The East India Company made a poor defence. It is difficult to account, on any system of parliamentary tactics, for the conduct of parties who come into the House not knowing whether they will divide, or in other words, whether they will defend themselves or not. A division before going into Committee, only took place because a member who had no charge in the business, and who only acted under the dislike a man has to seeing himself brought to be in some sort made to look foolish, called out No; which was faintly repeated by some others on the second putting of the question, under the impression probably that it was coming from the previous quarter. The result was a division with a minority consisting only of 59, but strong in names of mark, as will be seen upon inspection. When the debate afterwards arose on the Resolutions, a powerful speech was made by the member for Portsmouth, the same who on a former occasion was noted for unexpected eloquence; and followed by several able men. But when everybody expected a division, the hearts of the supporters of the Company failed them, and they let all the ministerial requests go by default. The minister expressed a particular desire that there might be no division; as well knowing how triumphantly it would go forth in Europe and in Asia, that the ancient Company was put down without a division. He was also particularly anxious that the putting down the Company should be decided first, and the substitutions afterwards. In both which requests the representatives of the Company goodnaturedly humoured him. For what reason,—

what apprehended harm,—the Company should not have dared the perils of a division, which would very probably have been twice as strong as the preceding, it is not for man to tell. It was altogether a strange *felo de se*. It is very likely a higher power settled it, under the ancient and well-known process by which it conducts fated people to their end.

Points to be noted are, that there was little or no attempt made to push the question, of what the results might be in India, of holding forth the Queen as executioner of the vengeance to which the Company was unequal; and none at all to ask whether it was for the Queen's honour that such a substitution should take place. Why cannot the people who made the dirty linen, wash it at home? I have lived among good and brave men now gone hence, who if it were permitted them to interfere in the affairs of the world they have left, would be heard calling me by my plebeian name and saying, "We never told you you were ornamental, but we thought you good at need. Save the Crown which we have served, from the disgrace like to fall upon it by allowing this to pass without a word." You will ask me why I did not do it. Simply because the House of Commons is a place, as Talleyrand said of language, "for the concealment of ideas."

In the course of the debate, extraordinary expressions escaped from the ministerial side. The opponents of the ministerial wishes were treated to the epithet of "mutineers." And some individual, so far as meanings can be gathered from words, was pointed to as "Nana Sahib;" a proceeding undoubtedly not designed to be complimentary, though it may be quite true that sensible men consider Nana Sahib as an Anglo-Indian myth, of about the same consistence as the celebrated Cawnpore inscriptions. But a question arising is, Who, what, and where, is the power against which the House of Commons is to commit mutiny? Can it be seen in the individuality of the flesh, or is it a corporation to be comprehended by the eye of the mind? There have been times, when such a demonstration from the ministerial side would have raised a storm it would not have been easy to resist. What a harvest of speculation there would be, if a Member of the French Chamber had been threatened as a mutineer! From being tyrants to being slaves, the descent is perilous and slippery. You, I, everybody who agrees with us or with whom we agree, are "mutineers;" and if we are not blown from guns, it is only because the pear is not yet ripe, and waits, it may be, for the return of the executionary army from India. Short work may then be made of us; and the

soldier who writes to Oldham, "O! mother! sweet, sweet was this revenge" when he inhaled the savour of his roasting enemies, may be turned loose to fry a Foreign Affairs Committee brown, and make broiled bones of an Editor and his journeymen.

A characteristic symptom, is that the portion of the press who trade on horrors, are as furious as the silversmiths of Ephesus. They cannot endure that there should be stop or stay, in their course towards increased business. The object of their measureless contempt, is the idea that Philip may have been drunk in February, and sober in May. They are right to a certain extent in their commercial speculation, but perhaps short-sighted. Another class there is, who view the change with equal interest; the class, to wit, in Europe, who view the struggle in India with the same eyes as other struggles against wanton and stupid tyranny from the beginning of the world, and see the chances of prolonged resistance and its possible results.

On Monday light was thrown, by the conversation of the House, on the cause of the lamb-like demise of the East India Company on Friday; and it is confirmed by the circumstance, that some of the newspapers deny it. What is circulated is, that it had been determined in the Cabinet that this day a Company must die, or there must be a dissolution of parliament. And so the thing has been settled, not by reference to common sense or uncommon, but to the standing of members with respect to their election bills, and their greater or less desire to go through the process of meeting their constituents.

Will not, at some time, the discovery be made, of the folly of systematically giving a minister this card to play, and enabling him to influence the votes of a popular assembly by a power entirely unconnected with the merits of any question that may be at issue? If it were proposed that the minister should have the power of fining every Member who did not vote with him £100, it would be resisted as the height of absurdity. And now he has the power of holding over the heads of Members a loss or saving which may amount to thousands instead of hundreds, in the event of their voting according to their consciences on a public question; and with many of them a further loss, which may be compared to what would be the result if the President of a Court Martial had the power of depriving wrong-voting officers of their commissions.

All this points to the *continuity* of Parliaments; which some day or other will find an advocate.

On Monday night the member for Birmingham (Bright) made a speech in the olden style, on the subject of Income Tax and the way in which it is endeavoured to throw taxation on the laborious classes. The leader of the ministerialists followed; and was like gruel after turtle-soup.

On Tuesday a most interesting debate on the subject of the Moldavian and Wallachian Principalities, which will justly engage the attention of the Foreign Affairs Committees. The motion was for an Address to the Crown in favour of the union of the Provinces; brought forward by the member for the University of Oxford, and maintained with great power. The Right Honourable member is a surviving specimen of the genus Statesman; which like the Dodo which is gone, and the Apteryx which is going, seems on the way to join the Megatheria of old world history.

The motion was ably advocated by Serjeant Deasy, a new member from Ireland. But why do not the Irishmen throw themselves more freely into all cases of popular remonstrance? Are they waiting for O'Connell to come to life? Lord John Russell finally joined, and the friends of the motion had the best of the argument, if not of the numbers. An old government and a new, against fragments of seceders from both, were likely to have their way. The motion was lost by 114 against 292.

On Wednesday the Bill for legalizing Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister was read a Second Time by 174 against 134. The opposition to it was very long and detailed, and eminently calculated to damage its own side. In which view it is commended to the study of the concerned.

Yours, &c.

5 May, 1858.



LORD CANNING'S OUDE PROCLAMATION.—APPOINTMENT OF
BARON ROTHSCHILD ON COMMITTEE.

XLVIII.

ON Thursday 6 May, a new point was brought before the House of Commons, in the shape of a question on the subject of Lord Canning's Proclamation directed to keeping up the resistance in Oude. The circumstances are complicated and remarkable.

It is evident the Governor-General was in no sort a positive agent in bringing on the revolution in India, or producing the massacre of the Native Army. He appears in the

character of a reasonable and intelligent man, with others of the same kind in association as his Councillors, but borne down, or as it were worn away, by the incessant activity of men of an inferior stamp, actuated by that hatred to all of a different shade of colour, which is encouraged by physiologists under the title of the antipathy of races, and aided to a considerable extent by theological animosities and ambitions.

The tactic of these dissentients, was to court opportunities of quarrelling with the Native Army, and at the same time remove and get out of the way the obstacles which might be opposed to the full action of any of the individual conspirators. Nothing but this, can account for a civilized government being found in a position, where it was at the option of any single officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel, to apply the match to the heated materials, and produce a necessary resistance by an act of unmitigated cruelty and injustice, such as would have sent the British Life Guards into opposition if practised on them in the reign of James the Second ; against the advice, as stated by authority, of his own officers, all retreat or chance of avoidance being cut off by the previous removal of any appeal to abler heads or cooler judgments. If Lord Canning was to blame for this, it was only to the extent of not bearing up against the torrent of men about him, acting with the keen instinct which makes wolf rush after wolf when mutton is in prospect. None of the powers which ought to have been the ruling, were to blame beyond this. But they were carried away by the flood of low men, of whose gifts and graces we have the measure, in those communications the press delights to utter, and which have the air of being all written by some single member of the swell mob, with whom neither you nor I would sit at meat.

But Lord Canning has been doubly unfortunate ; and his mishap should be a warning and an encouragement to all who may ever find themselves placed between the prosecution of the views of their own better nature, and giving way to men whom, as Job phrased it, they would not have set with the dogs of their flock. He did not resist with sufficient firmness and decision, when those qualities might have saved India ; he gave way weakly and without foresight, to the howlings of the English press for blood and violence, not surmising that after all, there might be a higher power in England, with which he might be brought into collision.

Yet for this last infirmity, there was much excuse. The howl of the press, though mainly got up by those anxious to sell horrors, was also echoed by those anxious to buy them.

The slaughter of a soldier in the Native Army, was a thing dear to British domestic life. Little boys and girls were treated to exciting pictures of Native soldiers blown from guns, and were taught to say "Thus shall it be done to the naughty man, who does not put pork into his mouth when good people tell him." Sometimes the scene was varied with portraiture of British officers, in all the priggery of sash and white pantaloons, sending peasant prisoners to execution after the manner of Kirk and Claverhouse, by a pretended court-martial, for which all the concerned ought yet to hold up their hands. The luxury of murder was never known till now. Our ancestors had no distinction in their joys. They heard that a man was killed, and were glad it was over; but they were never treated in the press, to the knowledge of how long the murdered man maintained his courage, and at what moment his nerves failed him and his jaw fell. These were the things that instructed the young idea to shoot in Christian families. The private soldier, taught to snuff the roast meat of his living enemies with a cannibal's delight, was illustrious in the press, and mothers in England were called on to witness the prowess of their babes. All such things were known in India, and acted with redoubled force in producing the food they fed upon. No wonder the Governor-General followed the lead. If the present government would have been inclined to disapprove, no premonitory cautions were to be expected from their predecessors, whose principle was, to let their officers do as much mischief as they chose, and support them afterwards.

What is to come out of this, remains to be seen. Unless the predecessors of the present government can show they have done something they never whispered of, the present government has more of statesmanship among them than the others had.

The County Franchise Bill for Scotland was refused by the votes of 105 against 86. There were 70 pairs, (*Globe*) with two Tellers on a side. These therefore should be added to both sides in any attempt to estimate the proportions; giving in the present instance 175 against 156, or about 9 to 8.

Mr. Locke's Bill for doing away with the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, was read a Second Time without opposition, and with the expressed approbation of the government. Things move.

On Friday the preposterous (which in Yorkshire is "wrong end foremost") proceedings in Committee were continued, with the result of settling, so far as it goes, what is to

succeed the East India Company, which it had been previously determined to abolish without knowing what was to come after it.

On Saturday among the parliamentary papers sent to members, appears a document throwing strange light on the "crowning madness," which after all may possibly yet be averted. It is the reply of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 19 April 1858, to the Governor-General of India in Council on the subject of his Oude proclamation.

It tells him that "his decree, pronouncing the disinherison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace."

What is to become of a nation, when its agents and operative governors "throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace"?

And the men who thus show the only glimmerings of common sense which have appeared, are the men the "crowning madness" is to put down; and the House of Commons sits discussing Councils of Elders and Councils of Youngsters who are to be appointed in their place. If the Directors had the genius, even at this late hour, to throw themselves on the country, the thing by possibility might be retrieved. It will be seen whether they have grace to know their day. The government is not the government which lighted the match by the massacre of Canton, and then protested against inquiry into the cause of the disturbances in India as the last thing wise men would do. The government therefore might be counted on, for something approaching to good-will.

It would be useless to try to give utterance to this in parliament; I am, and always have been, a man forbid. I therefore recommend it to the Foreign Affairs Committees, as an inlet to popular interest on the subject, combined as it will be with other rising questions. It is a vulgar error to suppose that any man can say anything in parliament he likes. If he has not a party at his back, he has not a chance to be heard. I wish the people would be a party. I tried to put the Foreign Affairs Committees upon the fact, that mutilated and nearly destroyed as is the right of petitioning, it is still in the power of any man or collection of men to make a speech of one minute long in the House of Commons, through the medium of a Petition. But they did not appear to be inclined to follow the suggestion. Their petitioning amounted to the production of a single formula on the subject of Oude, laying them open to the suggestion of one

single agency, and exceedingly hostile to general effect. Men in earnest on a subject, do not petition by book.

After the declaration of the Directors that "difficulties almost insurmountable have been thrown in the way of the re-establishment of peace," an interesting object for the military and political student on the popular side, will be to mark the ways in which this acts, and the mode in which the consequences will arise. It will be most important against the time when the English peasantry and land-owners shall have to struggle against foreigners who begin by making war on the religion of the country, and end by confiscating the property in the soil. That such a time will come, is a natural consequence of the tendency to retribution in the constitution of earthly things, which the ancients attributed to Nemesis or the avenging deity. In this direction, one of the strongest features which has hitherto come to light, is the importance of organization and habits of disciplined exertion. The Natives of India are personally as brave as any of our forefathers who died at the hands of Claverhouse or Kirk. Small detachments fight vigorously to the last, or shut themselves up in houses and when overmatched die by each other's hands to escape the death with torture which would be the consequence of their falling alive into the Christians' hands. But they have not the sentiment of military union. They have not the confidence in leaders which led our rude forefathers to precipitate themselves in mass upon their enemy at the bidding of a Cromwell or a Nassau. On these points they have been without the opportunity of learning; but the result of the Proclamation will be to give them what popular resistances want, *necessity and time*. "*Justum bellum quibus necessarium*," is the old classical rule; and the Governor-General has been straining his intellects to reduce to practice the memories of Eton or of Westminster. Now these things happened for our ensamples; and meantime let us feel thankful there were men in England like the East India Directors, to take off the disgrace of unresisting acquiescence in what has been done.

On Monday notice was given by Mr. Cardwell for Thursday, of a motion of disapprobation of the government for having condemned the conduct of the Governor-General in confiscating the landed property of Oude.

On the Amendments on the Oaths Bill, "the House disagreed with the Lords in the said Amendments" by 263 to 150.

The motion that Baron Rothschild be a member of the Committee "appointed to draw up Reasons to be assigned to

190 *Resignation of President of Board of Control.*

the Lords for disagreeing to the Amendments to which this House hath disagreed," was carried by 251 to 196. The consequences are interesting. If the House of Commons sticks to its purpose, Jews may henceforth be elected *à discrétion*, and do all the duties of members of Committees. If the dun horse may be taken for a wheeler, he will be taken for a leader too before long. Meantime there must be a loose box got for him, where he may take his ease in his inn, without mingling with the privileged colours except when first turn for work.

On Wednesday, long discussion on the Equalization of Metropolitan Poor Rates, ending (a lame conclusion) in the Bill being withdrawn; though with promise of appearing again, which it is to be hoped will be kept. The opposition mainly rested on the assertion, that taxes are ultimately paid by the rich, and therefore the poor man may be taxed at discretion. The poor man must get a little more of what in the course of the debate was called "cold philosophy;" and then he will defend himself.

The resignation of the President of the Board of Control has complicated the Indian question. Will he not strike out for being at the top of the position? But the fanatical element has for the moment recovered the ascendant. Mr. Layard's return from India, and a reported meeting at Sheffield, are against its keeping it.

On Thursday in answer to questions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that Lord Ellenborough sent in his resignation without communicating with his colleagues, and if they had known of it, they should have endeavoured to prevent it.

This recovers the false step the government had made, in appearing to shrink from their position on the Oude Proclamation by sacrificing Lord Ellenborough.

Yours, &c.

13 May, 1858.



OUDE PROCLAMATION.—QUESTION ARISING, WOULD IT HAVE BEEN WISE FOR THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO HAVE CHECKED A FRENCH MARSHAL IN SPAIN?—NEW LETTER OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, OF 5 MAY.

XLIX.

ON Friday 14 May commenced the great debate on the ministerial rebuke of the Oude proclamation. The attack was able and tedious. The reply was in the hands of the new

Solicitor-General ; who has established a reputation by the performance. Strange interest attaches to the principles brought to light on various sides. In some, are the most point-blank avowals of the maxims which over and over in the course of this world have brought nations through a term of temporary prosperity to final shame. If a collection were made of them, they would seem built on the assumption that the earth was made for conquest, and the whole duty of man consisted in seizing what he could, and keeping what he got. All that wisdom and policy thought they had stored of less barbarous and less boyish, would be found scattered to the winds, and replaced by aspirations after the worst times of Roman tyranny and greed. Modern conquerors and tyrants were equally laid under contribution for precedents ; and if I did not entirely mistake, I heard a grave parallel, between the conduct of a government which should rebuke the Oude Proclamation, and that of a French administrator who in the time of Napoleon should have rebuked a French Marshal for cruelties exercised in putting down the Spanish patriots, after, as was carefully and systematically stated, the holder of the Spanish crown had been removed, and the contest was between a population and a foreign army. See what we have come to ; and judge where it will be carried if occasion should arise. What is to become of all that has been prated of under the title of British liberties, when our statesmen amble in the paces of foreign tyranny, and set up for their models all that wiser generations have been accustomed to resist ?

We are to be Rome,—we are to be *cives Romani*, the bullies of the whole earth, till a stronger bully is found to put us down. For this we are to barter the hopes which good men had been led to entertain, of progress coincident with justice and humanity, and an honourable lead in the arts and practices of civilized life. The brute element for the time is uppermost ; the four-legged part of the Centaur is running away with the human. In the case of Rome, there was one excuse ; which was, that there was to some extent, only a choice between being conquerors and conquered. As Clive said it was better to be a butcher than a calf, so Rome trampled on a thousand States, as perhaps the only visible means of preserving her own. But no such necessity lay on England. Great men had uttered the words National Law ; and the art of book-keeping, the invention it may be of Jews in Lombardy, had settled the balance between the expenses of modern wars, and what was to be got by them. There had been a patter too, about religion, which had strengthened the belief that

justice was the glory of a nation. All this has been puffed away. A lieutenant-colonel of the Indian army has been enough to apply the match to a justly incensed Native population, and we are driven back for the best part of a score of centuries in all that is the true honour of a country.

It is wonderful how men can play fast and loose with principles on which their own existence hangs, when the temporary temptation arises. For instance, what is a *Semindar*? Having drawn pay and allowances for Oriental tongues, I ought to be authority for saying, that *semin* is "earth," and *dār* is "holder." Something wonderfully like "landlord" if I am not mistaken. Again, in *Taloukdār* I discern the same root as in the Arabic term (the Arabs are great logicians) for "absolute" in the scholastic sense. The *Taloukdār* therefore is that dangerous animal a "freeholder." It is against "landlords" and "freeholders" the war is carried on. Imagine a foreign government directing, like Antiochus to the Jews, that Englishmen should take something into their mouths they held in extreme abhorrence, and backing it by declaring the abolition of landlords and freeholders except six. Could insanity go further; or as the American statesman said of slavery, "Is there any attribute of God or honest man, you can expect to go along with you?"

The thing cannot go, it ought not to go, it will not go. It is contrary to the conditions on which the people received their liberties, and the reigning family the Crown; and when the time comes for a drunken nation to call for soda-water, the reaction will be terrible. The maintenance of the existing government is the only opening at present visible. If it fails, see whether there is any folly like the follies that will have been committed; and ask whether it is likely a nation that so conducts itself, should hold its place among conflicting powers. Count on your fingers how many different policies there will have been. *First*, there was what reprobates in India and England denounced under the title of the Clemency Policy; *Secondly*, comes the Oude Proclamation; *Thirdly*, the condemnation of it by the Court of Directors in the letter of 19 April; *Fourthly*, suppose the success of the attack on the government for supporting that condemnation; *Fifthly*, the reversal of that decision which must to a certainty come in three months; for it is impossible the country should continue longer under the dictation of the mutilation-mongers. Add to this, all that may arise from other quarters. Do you think the French colonels are not calculating with the accuracy of a Statistical Society, the rate at which English means

must run out at the bung-hole if this upsetting of the cask is persisted in; and their "brethren of the sister service" viewing with a seaman's eye the veering and hauling by which parliament nightly expresses its soreness as to what would be to be done with a combined fleet in the Channel? As a man cannot eat his cake and have his cake, so a man cannot enjoy his folly and continue as he was before. You will have your share at Bradford if the time comes. If it does, do me the justice to think I should not have served you better, by taking up the cry of pot-houses, and chorussing the song of the insane.

All sorts of chicaneries are advanced, to prove that an Oriental landlord is not or ought not to be a landlord, and the sooner he is dispossessed the better. In particular, it would be highly for the benefit of those under him;—what better, than that the landlord class should be annihilated, when of course all they had must go to somebody? Is there nobody could preach on this text? In the heat of the expectation of French invasion, when it was my fortune to be part and portion of the force that watched Boulogne, the idea was circulated, that one notion of Napoleon's was, to proclaim that every tenant farmer should thenceforth be the owner of the land he held. I do not recollect that this found favour with the landlord class, or even that it was considered as likely to do much good to the inventor. The wise English will try it in Oude, and we shall see what comes of it. But Oriental landlords, it is said, only hold of the government by feudal tenure. Do not English landlords hold by feudal tenure, except as time has enabled them to strengthen their possession? Surely it is ill meddling with a shaky house. Fancy the Crown in England announcing that it resumed possession of all the land except six estates!

Out of all evil comes some good. It is impossible that good in some quarters should not arise, out of the shaking of the dry bones which is now taking place. As out of the irruption of the Northern tribes upon the Roman empire, arose a state of things in many points superior to what was there before, so out of the present swallowing up of old notions of right and honour will in the end result a more perfect structure which may compensate for temporary loss. The wave of barbarism will pass over, as all waves do. Other Englishmen will arise, who will not be befooled by the lust of blood, and the desire to know whether one man with a revolver can kill six who have none. Some of us will see the day, and some

will not. The point of importance is, that while we last, we put our shoulders to the wheel.

A letter of the Court of Directors of the 5th of May adds volumes to the evidence, that they are to be abolished simply because they are the men fit to govern India. An individual of ducal rank is said to have complained that the flies flew down his throat. Upon which somebody advised him to shut his mouth. Is not as easy a remedy within reach of those who puzzle themselves about a government for India? which would be to leave it as it was.

The debates on Monday and Tuesday presented little that was new. On Tuesday the House adjourned to Thursday.

Yours, &c.

19 May, 1858.



ABANDONMENT OF THE ATTACK ON THE MINISTRY.—AN END OF GOVERNMENT BY THE BRITISH LION.—DUFF OF THE POPULAR PARTY.

L.

ON Thursday 20 May may be said to have been the height of the attack and defence, on the government's condemnation of the Oude Proclamation. Of the attack there is little to be commemorated as going beyond the ordinary efforts of men desirous to see others turned out that they may turn in. The defence was in able hands with the members for Birmingham and Carlisle; and on the whole the attack on the government was decidedly in a falling way.

But on Friday occurred one of those events which have so often determined the event of battle. An arrival from India brought the Letter of the Chief Commissioner in Oude to the Governor-General, remonstrating against the Proclamation and foretelling its effects, in terms which neither you nor I could increase in force if we applied our best endeavours. And there was joined the ludicrous circumstance, that a paragraph making a lame display of something that might be interpreted into conciliation, was consequently added to the Proclamation, with a request (recalling Mr. Guppy's desire for everything to be "without prejudice,") that "every copy of the vernacular version of the Proclamation sent with the previous letter, should be carefully destroyed."

This was decisive. It was plain that after this there was no more to be done, but watch the way the opponents of the

government would get off the field. And oddly enough they did it. They came forward under a blaze of affirmation, that the arrival from India had established the fact, that the Governor-General had indited a Proclamation pointedly directed to the allaying of perturbed spirits of landowners and freeholders in Oude, and there could be no doubt of its having the happiest effects. "A guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure,"—as were the expressions of the sagacious and well-informed Chief Commissioner upon the spot,—were held to mean, "Send us an unmeaning paragraph for a new edition in the vernacular, and mankind will be convinced you were a great pacificator." Rarely at *nisi prius* or at quarter sessions, has an advocate had so bad a case to back out of, with so little chance of doing it with grace.

And now for the effects of all this on the current world. In India the utmost will have been done the state of the facts admits, towards diminishing the results of what is past recall. In England the consequences can scarcely be other than good. There is an end of government by the British lion; which meant by men's animal appetites, and the propensities common to the beast of prey. "The reign of blood which on the earth began" at Canton, and afterwards swept contagiously through India, is at all events disavowed. Foreign agents who direct massacres on pretences they admit to be unfounded, will not hereafter have the prospect of impunity. The surmised complicity with foreign potentates for making China another Oude and "looting" Peking, may be considered at an end. We stand as civilized men and politicians, and not as barbarians and pirates. The savage dogma of the refusers of concession to popular rights, that man, and woman too, exists only to bring into the world the means of carrying out acts of violence against the weak, is for the present in the dust, and long may it remain. The old causes of political division have to a great extent passed into oblivion, like those between the Guelphs and Ghibelines; and "handsome is, that handsome does," is the concentration of popular wisdom to which the public is most inclined to trust. The present government have the power of prolonging their influence to an unlimited period. If they can make up their minds to a sagacious and economical compliance with the public appetite for progress, and not fall into the error of Napoleon who lost his seat because he never could force himself to consent to popular demands till the day after

Mont St. Jean. Their ready agreement to the Property Qualification Bill is an instalment in point.

The government were probably right in consenting to let their assailant retire with bag and baggage ; though the improvement in their position consequent on the arrival from India might have warranted their looking for more. It would have implied postponement ; and nothing would have been more likely than that the spirit which directed the forged inscriptions at Cawnpore, and sticks with fond reluctant amorous delay to stories of mutilations which disapproval is declared only to confirm, should have organized a coming report of the wonderful effects of the confiscation in pacifying Oude, prepared it may be with no small power of genius and command of language. They were right therefore not to wait for their enemy's next move.

My own judgment was, that if there had been a division, the government would have had a considerable majority. At least a tenth of the sitters on the Opposition side were malcontents. And supposing half of these to have voted with the government and half to have gone away, and the sitters on the two sides to have been at first pretty equal as they appeared to be,—this would point to a majority for the government in the proportion of 7 to 6 ; which in a House of 600 to begin with, would have been a majority of 45.

On many grounds, advantages will be found from the way the question has been decided. A serious danger was, that at no very distant time there would be a disposition in Europe to run in upon England, on the score of being offensive to the general feelings of civilized nations. There has always been a strong belief, that the atrocities perpetrated in the partition of Poland had much to do with the irritation which led to the French Revolution ; and there can be no doubt again, that the crimes with which that Revolution was attended, were accessory to getting up the spirit of hostility with France which led to her depression. But what were the crimes of the French Revolution, to the horrors committed in India ? Did a French army in La Vendée ever hang the wounded on the field of battle ? Did a French general ever pick a man of rank out of his Vendean prisoners, and force him by torture to do something the sufferer thought equivalent to incurring eternal damnation, as for instance to blaspheme his King and his God, and this for the reason avowed that it was known he thought so, and then send him to the gallows ? Did any French officer in La Vendée ever perform the office of hangman with his own hands ? Was

it ever boasted that French sailors took a prisoner of rank and then forcing down his throat what he considered as equivalent to excrement, put him to the torture as preliminary to death? Did men ever vouch for such things under their own hands in the public journals of the day, and did any of them receive the thanks of the Convention afterwards? Was it ever stated in the French Convention, that ten thousand Vendean prisoners had been put to death by hanging alone? And above all, did French citizens of every degree, gloat over such exploits, impress them on their children by painting and engraving, and roll them under their tongues as the savoury meat their souls loved? Did the French soldier ever express his delight in the smell of his enemy roasted alive; or did the French community ever cherish the unmanly forgery, of crimes against nature committed upon them by the enemy? If these or any had been done, it would have told heavily in the day when the scale turned. And continental nations are already looking out for such a day. French journals moot the question, whether the horrors committed in India have not reached the point which authorizes and demands the interference of foreign nations. England has not been slow to preach on that text, wherever the crimes were not her own; and there is no stopping the tongues or hearts of men. If no journals in France can speak without the authority of the government, so much the worse; and if the journals that speak are not of the most influential kind, it only shows that the little ones are put forward as feelers.

In such a position, it was a substantial good, that power should pass into the hands of men, who at all events start with an aspect of opposition to the existing evils. It will be for those concerned, to improve the Providence. The success of the government in maintaining their places, was, as things stood, in great degree owing to the assistance of the independent popular party,—of men who are sick to death of seeing progress barred and redress denied. With good conduct on both sides, good may come to all. Former opponents may meet, like men under a flag of truce,—each of them perhaps saying “Not much this new ally he lov’d,” but finding on acquaintance, that no man is so bad as he looks, and that there is at the bottom of all hearts a desire for the universal good, if it can be cleared from old prejudices and superannuated enmities.

On Friday the House at its rising adjourned to Friday 28 May.

Yours, &c.

28 May 1858.

ATTACKS ON THE GOVERNMENT.—DEFINITION OF THE WORD
 "CABAL."—SUZ CANAL.—RELEASE OF EDITOR OF "CAR-
 LISLE EXAMINER."

LI.

ON Friday 28 May was an extraordinary passage of arms, ending in little. It began from the Opposition benches, and indicated a desire on the part of the member for London, to have the battle over again of the preceding Friday. The reply brought out, was more impassioned than effective; though as there was not much to reply to, it may be considered to have been adequate to its object. The aggregate result was to show, that the government is strong, and if it likes may be stronger. Nobody took up the subject on either side; so that it was simply a single combat between chiefs.

On Monday was a repetition of the folly of Friday. The attack on the government was renewed, to very little purpose and with very little effect. Neither the attack nor the defence gave a high idea of the combatants. But it seems hard that a man may not make a florid speech to his constituents, without being called to account for it in the House of Commons. The expression principally fastened on by the Opposition, was that which spoke of the country as within "not days but hours" of war; and was met with point-blank denials, as I understood them, that there was any danger of war at all. Now I certainly have recollections, that on the introduction of the Conspiracy Bill, the danger of war from irritated feeling in France, was among the reasons laid before the House, and assuredly did not proceed from the parties opposed to the Bill.

I wonder the leader of the government did not give a better definition of "Cabal." The word had been used on his own side, and I have no doubt with accuracy and point. "Cabal," if I do not mistake, was a term invented for a union of political leaders, whose initials made the word. It therefore means a union of *leaders* of parties, and not of the rank and file; and in the case to which it was now applied, I suspect it pointed to considerably less than five.

The only hard hit in the minister's reply, was in his last two words, "obsolete oligarchy." They undeniably struck at the weak place in his adversaries' harness, the point where there is most of variance between the leaders and their followers. It is clear he might hold his own if he would go the

way. But it will be as Hone in his "Everyday Book" sang of the Pope:—

"Now we'd let him turn a Protestant, so it's quite a shame he don't.
And it shows what a base man he is, when he might be one, and won't."

On Tuesday a motion for uniting the Horse Guards and War Office under one responsible Minister, was carried by the very close numbers of 106 against 104.

On the same day a motion by Mr. Roebuck that the influence of this country ought not to be used to induce the Sultan to withhold his assent to the making a Canal across the Isthmus of Suez, was negatived by 290 against 62. There is a mystery about the subject, which the debate did not succeed in dissipating. Why is the English government to lean against the making a Canal if anybody likes to make it? Is it for fear the subscribers should commit themselves to an imprudence? If so, is not this the policy of the old Egyptians, by which the government undertook to direct the orthodox forms on which every man, for fear of mistake, should lay out his capital? Would not the same principle have prevented capitalists from incurring the risk of making railways?

Is it because the government have information from scientific men, that the thing is impossible and sure to end in disappointment? If so, how long is it since a scientific authority proved from the axioms of Euclid, that steam navigation to America was not within the nature of things? Capitalists know much better how to deal with these subjects than the speculative learned.

Another ground set up, was that a Canal would divide Egypt from Turkey. To which somebody rightly answered, that mountains divide regions, but water joins them. Anybody who knows the country, knows that a *Fellah* (ploughman) would cross the Canal twice a-day as he does the Nile, hold of his cow's tail.

Next came the apprehension, that if a Canal were made for the benefit of English commerce, somebody might be found to take it from us. Is not that the old argument we had to encounter during the Anti-Corn-Law agitation,—“Do not have legs, for fear they should be cut off.”

Besides this, mention was made of difficulties which were to arise from the difference of level in the two seas, and the rush which might or might not arise from such a cause. To which, if I had been engaged in the dispute, it would have occurred to me to reply by asking if nobody had ever heard of a lock.

Another argument intimated, was that the coast of Egypt is everywhere so fortified, that a landing of troops is impossible. Things must have greatly altered since I saw it, if anything of this kind is the case. The beach where the French army landed may have been fortified so that nobody shall land there again, and the same may have been done with any other beaches notorious in history. But there is hardly any maxim of experience more certain, than that the attempt to make a whole coast impregnable, is hedging out a cuckoo. But supposing the impregnability granted, what does it resolve itself into, but a fear of what might be done by the owners of the soil? Which at all events is a reason to be met on its own merits.

On the whole it by no means follows that a man is to rush headlong into selling all that he hath, to make a Suez Canal. But it *does* follow, that the reasons urged against it are feeble and suspicious.

One reason which might have certainly been urged, is that under the existing system of keeping an agent in every foreign country to make quarrels, the probability is there would be a quarrel as sure as there was a Canal. But this seems a thing within the possibility of mending; and perhaps somebody at some time will apply himself to mend it.

After this came a useless resistance to the Third Reading of the Church Rates Bill; ending in a reasonable expectation that it will pass on Tuesday.

On Wednesday came on the adjourned question of Mr. Washington Wilks. The Home Secretary,—one of those men to whom an adversary might trust his case with full powers to write down the terms which in the existing circumstances ought to be fixed upon,—did all that was compatible with a knowledge of the jealousies and interests that beset the subject; and the Examiner from Carlisle was discharged on payment of the fees.

The Property Qualification Bill was carried into Committee by 222 votes against 109. Many eminent men on the government side, among others the Home Secretary and the Member for Dorsetshire, spoke and voted with the majority. It was admitted on all sides that there must be a Reform Bill next session; though it is not clear there are not some who would re-form the wrong way.

Yours, &c.

2 June, 1858.

PROPERTY QUALIFICATION BILL PASSED.—CHINESE DEBATE.
—AMENDMENT AGAINST “THE CROWNING MADNESS.”—
PASSING OF CHURCH RATES BILL BY THE COMMONS.

LII.

ON Thursday 3 June the Bill to abolish the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, was read a Third Time, and passed.

On Friday the subject of China was brought up by an inquiry to the government. It is a sad thing for a great country, full of complicated interests, many of them honest ones, to have taken to the filibustering lay. If the word is from the vocabulary of thieves, to the conduct of thieves it is appropriate. It is known to the little boys in the streets, that the quarrel with China was got up of malice aforethought, on a pretext at the time avowed to be false, and that its results were simple massacre and robbery, which if Justice had not veritably left the earth for good and all, would be punished in the immediate authors by the extremest measures to which offended society is in the habit of resorting. On one point there is a mystery, which time and accident may solve. It is not known whether the shabby felony took place by the order of the then existing government, or was an invention of the own pure brain of an agent interested in making fortunes by the opium trade. One or the other, there can be no reasonable doubt it was; and in any case the government of the day hugged the nuisance to its bosom, and we are at this moment continuing to pay the bills. The plot is simple and clear. Engage the country in piratical wars for the benefit of those who profit by such things; and make honest people pay for it.

A point which was touched on with great effect by the member for Birmingham, was that the disgraceful English project is complicated by connexion with the equally disgraceful projects of other nations. England has a war founded on what everybody knows to be a falsehood and a baseness. But this cannot be helped now, it is represented, because the English are acting in concert with allies, who have other views of equal unworthiness. It is thus we are made the hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the dishonest classes not only of this country but of others. The English thief cannot be sent to Newgate, without asking whether his foreign ally is ready to submit to the like. And thus dishonesty triumphs, and lives at the expense of decent people.

The present state is bad enough; but there may be worse

impending. There is hanging over us that possibility of retribution, to which experience shows the constitution of the world, without trenching on theological comminations, has a most perilous tendency. There is no instance of a nation allowing itself to be the bond-slave of piracy and injustice towards others, which has not in the end been brought to a sorrowful reckoning. The very confederates are likely enough to be the instruments; and there is a bitter passage in Apocalyptic scenery, which, after divesting it of the somewhat broad translation of the common version, points to the facility with which the kings of the earth "hate the harlot" they had been glad to commune with. In the doubtful events of all human affairs, it is a great comfort to believe, that happen what may, honour and honesty have directed our efforts. It is a shocking thing to be haunted with the consciousness, that in our case misfortune will be punishment, and failure be viewed by God and man as righteous degradation. If we are to be the felons of the earth, why should not we wear the yellow jacket and the leg-irons when anybody is strong enough to put them on us?

On Monday was proposed the Amendment of the member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Gladstone) for continuing the Court of Directors as a Council for administering the government of India, until the end of the next session of Parliament. It was valuable as a sign of life, indicating some progress in a desire to resist what has out of doors been so justly called the "crowning madness." If the mover would throw himself frankly forward on the Indian question, it is not yet too late for useful action; and he would be what it is the fashion to call "master of the position," to the extent that honourable ambition could desire. Useful things made their way to the dull knowledge of the House during the debate. The member for West Surrey (Mr. Drummond) read some damning evidences of the unearthly zeal with which men labour in India to carry hatred and just resistance into every cottage, and the unheard-of extent to which a flood of ruffianism has carried everything before it in that land of England's dishonour. Fancy the fiends in Hades, masquerading in brief holiday, and playing at all that can be offensive to better natures, and it will only be an image of the disgrace into which the British name is trampled by those I am afraid their parish registers, if they could be come at would declare to be our countrymen. It will be made impossible to preserve India under such circumstances. It will be as impossible as to preserve one of your factories, if drunken reprobates were

running about in all directions, applying matches to everything that would burn, and throwing hob-nails into everything that would break. You might save the shell; but what would anybody give you for the savings?

On one point I think the member for West Surrey was wrong. He appeared to attribute all this mischief to "the old Indians." Now I can in some sort produce myself to give evidence, that it was not the old Indians but the new. There were undoubtedly the seeds of mischief among the old. But brutality was not rampant, as it is now. A mark which stamped a man as of an inferior class, was that he was complained of by his Native servants. To have been found assaulting a Native, would have led to being brought before a civil court, with the same results as if an officer of Life Guards had been discovered beating his footman. It never was in the contemplation of the old Indian, to offer insult to the Natives or to their prejudices. A friendly feeling on this head, was the criterion of a man in good society. Depend upon it, brutality in India is a novel importation.

There is no use in appealing to such people; they would not understand you. When they cry out for a law to enact the servile prostration of every Indian-born to ruffians like themselves, it would be bootless to refer to Gessler's hat and the joy with which all manly hearts received the consequences. It would be heathen Greek to them. They never lived within the atmosphere of such knowledge. History is a sealed book to them. They know nothing but that certain things are gratifying to their fiendish passions; in which they are one step below the beast that perishes. And by such as these it is decided, that Britain must lose India, and see her name and fame sunk into everlasting contempt.

The truth is that nothing is so agreeable to the natural man, as to be released from the obligations of the Decalogue. It is only by the action of the better part of men upon the others in self-defence, that this spirit is ever tamed. And when the base elements get uppermost as now, we see the consequences. War has always a tendency to this result; though something has been done in some nations to check the torrent. A little boy was in the campaign against the Wahabees, and he was told he must not kill a goat. To which he replied, "But I might, if it was a Wahabee goat?" plainly implying that the infant intellect had discovered that war was a dissolvent of moral laws. Older people of course carry it out with more effect. It is a delightful thing to think, that instead of "Thou shalt do no murder," you may

murder as many as you like, with no limit but the barrels of the American machine with that intent invented. It is a dainty pleasure to reflect, that there is no objection to adultery, especially when accompanied with violence, if it can be kept from the eyes of the provost-marshal; and that, at the worst, the risk run is only of fifty stripes.* Stealing, of course, is to be the breath of the nostrils; and the merits of epauletted officers are measured by the energy they show in bringing honey to the common hive. A son of an eminent Judge, if I am not mistaken, said, a man might as well pass his future life in the infernal regions, as in the country where such things had been done. It is plain there are some men, who calculate on being acclimatized.

On Tuesday came on the Third Reading of the Church Rates Bill. None of its opponents thought of applying to that rule of an ancient lawgiver, which said the way to decide was to ask what we should wish that others should do to us.

I should like to know what the Archbishop of Canterbury would say, if brought before an assembly of Puritans, as might well enough have happened in the days of our ancestors, to show cause why his daughter's pianoforte should not be taken to pay for the repairs of brother John's *conventiculum*. The Bill was finally passed, by 206 against 203. So that it is gone, as the phrase is here, "to another place."

In the evening sitting, after a debate which lasted till midnight, Mr. Berkeley's motion to introduce a Bill for the Ballot was negatived by 294 against 197. The arguments of the opponents present rich picking for the Reform Associations. The leading fallacy, was confounding the secrecy demanded for the man who chooses it, with the wish to prevent any man from blowing as many trumpets as he likes about his vote. The one thing needful, is that there shall be no knowing a man's vote except by his own act. Perhaps the Associations for the Ballot, including the Ballot Society, have not been sufficiently distinct on this point; but we must not allow ourselves to be saddled with so palpable a device of the enemy. It is plain that nothing is to be hoped from the old leaders on the Liberal side. The thing must be carried as the abolition of the Corn Laws was carried; and on the ministerial side of the House, in some place or other there sits the man, who like another Maurice of Saxony, will at the proper time declare his conversion, and end the question. An examination of the night's debate may form a good subject for some season when matter is scarce.

I took the liberty of proposing, what the time may come

for taking into consideration, that as a step, permission should be given to introduce the Ballot in any constituency where four-fifths of the actual constituents petitioned for it. The adversary will not lightly venture upon this trial.

On Wednesday the Second Reading of the Tenants' Compensation (Ireland) Bill was negatived by 200 against 65. Observations on the question were in my letter to you of 21 April 1858.

Yours, &c.

9 June, 1858.



COUNTY FRANCHISE.—LIMITED LIABILITY.—GOVERNMENT DECLARATIONS.—CONTINUATION OF THE "CROWNING MADNESS."—CONFESSIONAL AT ST. BARNABAS AND CHURCH RATES.

LIII.

On Thursday 10 June the County Franchise Bill was read a Second Time, after carrying the Previous Question by 226 against 168. In Committee on Joint Stock Banking Companies Bill, a clause tending to interfere with the principle of Limited Liability was negatived by 128 against 40. I have always believed that the preponderative argument against unlimited liability, was that it kept wise men from encountering liability at all.

On Friday some highly honourable declarations proceeded from the government, in reply to questions on the subject of warlike preparations. Man's wisdom can nowhere be better employed. Much might be learned by looking at the parallel in the case of private individuals. Do neighbours in the same street live in peace by multiplying blunderbusses? Or rather, do they not live by a directly contrary policy? Where artillery of this kind is wanted, it must be kept; but do honest men want it? Everybody knows they do not, and that it is by totally opposite qualities they live in quiet. Or to take a parallel of another kind, that of men who, as is the case with everybody, may have to defend themselves in courts of law. Who are they that are the safe? Are they the men who have spent their patrimony on law, with the variation of laying out a quarter's rental when they found one lying on their hands, on gewgaws and hobby-horses, on ugly towers and big bells that burst? Or are they the people who have the character of being warm men if called upon, and the reputation of knowing, that the more a man throws away in

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the sunshine, the less he can afford in the storm? It is not clear that the perverse reasoner which calls itself the public, does not act upon directly opposite principles. For instance, there would be no difficulty in finding philosophers, who appeal to the rush of recruits that has been directed to the East, as a proof of the country's ability to face everything that may happen. Most men, in their schoolboy days or otherwise, have witnessed the unpleasant spectacle of slaughtering a horned beast. When they saw the crimson flood, *tepidusque cruor fumabat* as the ancients have it, did it occur to them to say, "here is a beast that will live for ever"? Yet not much better is the argument of those, who from present expenditure of men and means, derive the conclusion that therefore it must go on. How do we know but there is somebody calculating eagerly how long it can last, and making ready for the time when he shall begin to flay and to dismember?

After this the House went into Committee again on the "crowning madness." If there are beings who can unroll the picture faster than is permitted to mankind, there is no telling what anusing absurdity may not be presented to their view. Fancy grown men sitting in conclave to know how many councillors they will have for a country they have not got. It surpasses all that proverbs have aimed at, and fables illustrated. And no man has asked, because no man has ever thought, whether the very road they are pursuing is not the most hostile possible to success. One statesman a night or two ago, referred to the effect which will be produced in India, by the amiable personal character of the sovereign? Of what use is personal character, if ministers are to introduce the Royal name where it can only excite terror and resistance? Fancy the Spanish Armada had been in the time of Ferdinand, and the English people had been advised to be comforted by reason of the virtues of Isabella. They would have said, there was an admiral and general with thumb-screws, of whom they knew a great deal more, than of the virtues of the Queen.

This leads me to revert to the mistake I noticed in my last, of attributing to the old government of India the horrors which have arisen. Your "old Indian" had no more notion of breaking faith with a Native trooper, than our William had of insulting the Cameronian regiment, or quarrelling with a Puritan or a Dissenter about things strangled. The "old Indians" knew that the game they were involved in, was a ticklish one, and could only be got on with, by keeping their engagements and behaving like honourable men and true. It was the invention of a later age, to try whether the point had

been reached where it was safe to break faith, and sell the Native army, as is talked of, to slavery in Barbadoes. If this thing prospers, we may all get out of the world as fast as we are able; for, as the Indian Judge wrote home, we might as well stay in the infernal regions afterwards, as here.

It appeared to be finally settled, that the chickens when hatched, are not to be less than twelve, and not more than fifteen.

On Monday, more discussion of the various wild-goose plans for India. No rule of experience is more certain, than that when you want to do a foolish thing, the way is to do it first and think after. People who make imprudent marriages, generally follow this course; and it is astonishing what a mass of uneasy speculation it gets rid of. So here, when in spite of all precautions there breaks out in parliament something like a suggestion, that perhaps after all to choose the present moment for changing the government of India is a "crowning madness" and the most stupid thing that could be done, the answer is ready from all quarters,—“we have settled *that* already.” Jack has married his Jill, so there is no use in talking about it. So again, when after deep debate upon the qualities it would be desirable to have in the new constituency that is to be, men’s eyes cannot be kept off the fact that the constituency which the most lively imagination could fix upon, is the old constituency which is to be destroyed,—anybody disposed to press this to the issue which common sense would direct, is told, “But *that* we settled three weeks ago;” for so long it is, since Jack took his ill-assorted partner by the hand.

As all “effects defective come by cause,” it is well to keep an eye on what it is that is the mainspring of all this foolishness. It is simply the desire to add the patronage of India to the power of the minister of the Crown. There may be other things in aid; but this is the grand agent. Grave men talk about the responsibility of the Minister, as if it really meant anything but whether he can get a temporary majority in the House of Commons for any folly or iniquity he may be pleased to patronize; as in the last notable instance of the massacre of Canton. Our fathers had the sense to see, that the existing government of India was a great godsend, as keeping the patronage of a foreign Empire out of the hands of the minister of the Crown. The modern doctrine is, that all division of powers is an evil;—one lord, one master, one rule, is the creed for civilized nations. They have got it in France; and we shall soon be in a way to hear more of it here.

Some Member, suffering under the *delirium tremens* which is the consequence of living under "traditional policy," asked what might be the result if a minister at some future time were to import an Indian army of 50,000 men to carry some ministerial measure; and, if I am not mistaken, he carried his bad joke so far as to intimate, that the "Radicals" might be the people concerned on the other side. Assuredly it would be "fun," as the ravagers of India express it in their elegant patois, to see how an Indian army would shoot right and left all men with Radical countenances, which of course they would have an instinct to know, and what choice torments would be reserved for any who had held office in that our body. But then, the folly of supposing, that anybody would be so naughty! Silly old forefathers, always drivelling about "standing armies," and fancying that to train a host to lawless cruelties in one direction, was the way to prepare it for acting in another!

This centralization of power in the hands of the minister, was evidently the pet invention of the old administration, and the new one supports it with a difference. One of the former men last night put forth the most extraordinary argument, worthy of being set down in any pen-feathered logician's list of fallacies. "The principle of our constitution," he said, "was that taxation and representation should go together. But the people in England for whom a share in the government of India is demanded, do not pay the Indian taxes." In other words, mustard has always been demanded with beef; therefore let mustard be eaten with nothing else. There are some who think, there may be other objects besides taxation, which may make it desirable not to concentrate all power in the hands of the minister.

Strange things are coming out, about the Confessional at St. Barnabas. Everybody knew what the flowers and the crosses would come to. It is to be regretted there is not the opportunity for suggesting on the Church Rates Bill, the question of how long Dissenters are to have their daughters' pianofortes taken, to pay for the delicate amusements of the regular clergy. It is understood some questions are to be asked on Friday.

On Tuesday at the morning sitting the House was in Committee on the Sale and Transfer of Land (Ireland) Bill till four o'clock, and separated without result. In the evening sitting, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the allegations contained in the Petition of William Henry Barber, transported under a charge of forgery, which has since been

disproved. If the allegations are established, they afford matter of reflection. Sidney Smith in his character of justice of the peace, horrified a boy brought before him, by exclaiming, "Bring out my private gallows!" It does not seem right that a government should have kept a private hell at the Antipodes, with instructions to the operators to give increased intensity to the torments, till the devils themselves began to sympathize. It might be applied to you or me, before we have done.

On Wednesday the Second Reading of the Bill to abolish the Ministers' Money or Annuity Tax in Edinburgh and Montrose as vacancies occur, and making provision for successors, was negatived by 130 votes to 129. A close run.

On Thursday the President of the Board of Control announced that it was not the desire of the government to proceed further with the Indian Resolutions, and therefore it would draw up and introduce its Bill. An announcement which produced much speculation. At the evening sitting the Bill was brought in.

Yours, &c.

17 June, 1858.



STATE OF THE THAMES.—RELATIONS WITH AMERICA.—PAPER DUTY.—REWARDS TO MEMBERS.—BILLS WITHDRAWN AND THROWN OUT.

LIV.

ON Friday 18 June the state of the Thames was brought before the House of Commons, but without much result. Sidney Smith said there would be no end of railway accidents till a bishop was killed; and in like manner there will be nothing done to clear the Thames, till either the Speaker of the House of Commons dies of typhus, or twenty thousand of the ordinary citizens fall by the edge of pestilence. The Library of the House of Commons on Thursday was worse than a dissecting-room; and I saw men waving cloths, understood to be wetted with chloride of lime, in hopes to disinfect.

Perhaps friends at Bradford may say they are more concerned with a canal of their own. But they would not like to run the risk of being poisoned every time they came to London. And if, as I suppose nobody will deny, it is necessary there should be a metropolis, the subject may be inter-

resting if only as a spectacle of how men go about to apply human reason to a case which wants it.

A man was asked why he never washed his hands ; and he replied by asking what he was to do with the dirty water. This is something like the dilemma of a portion of the citizens. They say they might be washed by the Thames, but then the Thames is made so dirty ; and therefore they propose that they shall not be washed at all.

The case admits of compromise, and to all appearance, cure. But then, there is the expense. Ten millions are talked of, as the price of preserving the metropolis from pestilence. If the money could have been saved which gentlemen with architectural tastes have expended on what would be quite as well away, it would have gone half-way ; but gentlemen cannot eat their cake and have their cake. But it does not follow that therefore the metropolis must be left to sicken. A wicked war the less, will pay for all ; the first step towards which, would be to strike off all the men who draw salaries under the title of agents abroad, as performing no end in society but what Irishmen in a fair are said to execute by dragging their great-coat after them that somebody may tread upon it.

Somebody said it was a wonderful dispensation of Providence, that wherever there was a capital, there was always a river. Entirely agreeing that the coincidence of capitals and rivers is advantageous, it remains to be seen how the river can be best turned to the use for which it is so manifestly adapted, in a metropolis which has grown and is growing, out of all cess like London.

And here the first "great fact" is, that considering the number of sources from which matter it would be desirable to remove must arise, there are at least 2000 tons *per diem* which ought to be removed. That is to say, if all this could be put into a seventy-four gun ship daily and let go at the Nore, the metropolis would be a place to live in. Can human art therefore do nothing towards producing the same effect ? I verily believe a lieutenant-colonel who was ordered to clean his post for the general's inspection this day twelve-month, would find the way to do it.

Two things are evidently necessary. First that the unhealthy matter should be collected into sewers, ending in one main trunk to carry it to a competent distance below the town ; and secondly that it should only be discharged into the river at high water, or from that to quarter ebb. Ask any waterman, whether a drowned man so treated would ever

find his way to London Bridge. It might be an accessory question, whether it might not be desirable to have a reservoir of water for the purpose of occasionally washing out ; which must be supplied by a water-course connected with the river above the town. All these would involve curious questions of level ; but there is no reason in despairing without knowing why. A scheme was once on foot for making Paris a sea-port ; and it was to be effected by making two mounds of earth, which must have been like what the world has since been familiar with in railways. Railways might perhaps be combined with the upper part of the process ; though there might be objections to the neighbourhood, if it was proposed to introduce them below. If levels fail, there are great powers of raising fluids in the present day by the application of steam. If anybody will carry away sewage at their own expense for manure, let them ; but do not be poisoned for twenty years, waiting for somebody to carry away the sewage. If anybody can show reasonable damages from any part of the process, compensate them in reason ; but do not give up the process. When Prometheus made a man, he did not allow him to die because no part of his body would be the *locus* of a sewer.

The simple truth is that the metropolis is in the condition which a strictly philosophical inquiry would show to be the phenomena attendant upon a man who never washes himself. The dirt accumulates till it falls off ; and there is a certain maximum quantity, dependent on the adhesive powers of the matter concerned, in which he moves and has his being. It is a mere guess, the data not being at hand ; but it is not improbable that six days' dirt, being to the amount of twelve thousand tons, is always washing up and down under the noses of the intelligent citizens. More than this finds its way into the sea ; upon the same principle that the man who never washes himself is not coated above a certain thickness.

On the subject of relations with the United States, the reply of the Under Secretary of State was everything that was conciliatory and wise. Between two nations like the concerned, there should be reciprocity for a good end ; and if either nation refuses the reciprocity, it refuses to contribute to the end. In America there is a great struggle between the powers of good and evil ; and it will not be concluded by the victory of the foul elements. Meanwhile there must be coolness, not to give the powers of evil an unnecessary opportunity.

On Monday the debate on the Paper Duty came to what, all things considered, may be set down as a favourable conclusion. The terms of Mr. Gibson's motion were, "That this House is of opinion that the maintenance of the Excise on Paper, as a permanent source of Revenue, would be impolitic, and that such financial arrangements ought to be made as will enable Parliament to dispense with that Tax." After many speeches, principally from the Opposition side, it was agreed that the motion should stop with "impolitic," and should not be opposed by the government. So the Paper Duty may be looked upon as standing for "first turn."

On the same night an Estimate was presented of £563,435 for Education. The debate did not throw much light on the actual state of the question; but there were some incidental glimpses. Reasonable doubts were intimated, whether religion, meaning thereby all religions in turn, is not made a stumbling-block against the advancement of the people in the knowledge they want. The fear expressed was, that the whole thing is made a *bonus* for the clerical orders of all denominations. Is there or is there not, a power for honest men desiring instruction in worldly things without being stopped by religious dogmas at the door, to obtain their share in what the public pays? As an Apostle said, "Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?" so it might be asked "Have ye not churches and chapels to teach catechisms in?" without making them an impediment to those who want to learn writing and the rule of three.

On Tuesday was great debate on the motion "That it is contrary to the usage and derogatory to the dignity of this House, that any of its members should bring forward, promote, or advocate, in this House, any proceeding or measure in which he may have acted or been concerned, for or in consideration of any pecuniary fee or reward." On which what is called the Previous Question was moved. That is to say, it was first put to the vote whether the question should be put at all; which is considered a civil way of putting a thing down.

The motion at first looks as if it was all what sailors call plane sailing. But difficulties arise on going into it. The practical bearing and effect was to attempt to regulate what is incapable of regulation, except by men's own consciousness of what is proper and right. The matter really in dispute, was to settle the cases in which members of the bar who are also members of parliament, should act in cases of law, receiving their fees of course, and should afterwards move on the

same subject in their capacity of Members of the House of Commons. In illustration of this, a barrister member said, if I made no mistake, that in the late disputed question about Bankers' Cheques, the present Attorney-General had been retained on one side, and himself on the other; and both of them had afterwards dealt with the subject in the House of Commons. Directors of Railways, the Chairman of the East India Company, and such members as have at various times received what are called testimonials, sometimes of no small magnitude, were all alluded to in proof of the difficulty of separating a Member from his pecuniary interests; and no reason appears why all fund-holders, all naval and military officers, all agriculturists, all manufacturers, in fact all everybody, should not have been added to the list.

But it was plain throughout, that what was mainly aimed at, was the case of members of the bar who should be applied to for advice by Native powers in India, and afterwards undertake their cause in parliament; and that there was an eye to late cases of this kind which have been before the House, and on which it was always believed that the decision of the House had been given. One legal member stated a case of this kind which had come before him. A messenger from the Queen of Oude presented himself, and asked his legal advice; which he agreed to give. On that or a future occasion, it was represented on the part of the Queen of Oude that she wanted him to bring her case before Parliament, that "she was very sorry to present herself in that way,"—that is to say, empty-handed—"but she was very poor." On which he broke off further communication.

Now I do not feel that I should have acted precisely in that way. I should have been inclined to say to the poor woman, "You did not know that in England a lawyer may be paid for pleading in a court of law, but not for pleading in the House of Commons. Show me your case, and if it is a just and good one, I will do my best for it." I think your Foreign Affairs Committee would have done the same.

It is true that ill-intentioned men may always contrive to "cook" a case of this kind, and be paid on pretence of doing in a court of law, for what they are really to do in the House of Commons. But it is very difficult to provide by law against all that ill-intentioned men may think of. Nothing is so cheap as outrageous virtue; but virtue, to be effective, should confine its aims to the practicable.

The Previous Question was carried in favour of putting the motion, by 150 against 80. And then the motion itself was

carried by 210 against 27. I do not know what new lights dawned on those who changed their minds.

On Wednesday the Registration of Partnerships Bill was withdrawn, with an understanding that it is to come forward again. The Bill for making the Register at Elections final, was thrown out at Second Reading by 125 to 87. This change is essential to the introduction of the Vote by Ballot; and consequently opposed.

A case of Asiatic Cholera has been declared at St. Katherine Dock, in the person of a labourer who died laying the blame upon the river. There has been a talk of the House of Commons migrating to Marlborough House. Notice of motion substantially to this purpose, was given for Friday. I have profited, under premonitory languors, by taking, not drams, but ice.

Yours, &c.

23 June, 1858.



SECOND READING OF THE INDIA BILL.—SINKING FUND.—
INCOME TAX.—GALWAY DISFRANCHISEMENT.—MARRIAGE
WITH DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

LV.

ON Thursday 24 June the India Bill was read a Second Time without a division. The springs of human action are inscrutable; and why men declaring high disapprobation of a Bill should nevertheless decline chronicling their names against it by a division, and giving others the opportunity to do the same, is among the things which for the present must be unknown.

The debate was not without its useful tendencies. High-toned moralities were uttered, and strong expectations expressed of the happy family to which India is to be brought, when Indians have forgotten the breach of faith with the Native army, and the murder of their brothers and co-religionists by torture and sundry kinds of death. Jeremy Bentham's Westminster boy, who began his theme "There is nothing so virtuous as virtue," was not more clear on the advantages of moral rectitude. To all this the government gave its practical assent; which is much better than dissolving parliament to support an uncleanly massacre.

But virtue is not necessarily right in its conclusions. It dwells upon the difficulty of governing twenty nations of different religions, habits, and laws; and it speaks brave and

good words on the necessity of toleration, and brotherly affection among all God's vassals. But it cannot perceive that to do this with effect, one of the first requisites is to lean towards keeping down the influx of vulgar Europeans, who carry with them everywhere the feelings of the ferret towards the denizens of the rabbit-warren, or of the Virginian negro-driver towards the coloured race. So far from this, its great panacea is to introduce. It looks to peace in India, from multiplying the ruffianism which sees in every man of different complexion or creed an object to be trampled on, and feels itself injured as long as he is permitted to walk upright. Few mistakes could be more radically fatal.

Put now the case on a small scale. Suppose the instance of a score of European officers undertaking to form and discipline a thousand Mohammedans or Hindoos, not *against* but *with* their consent so long as certain stipulations on the subject of religion or customs are maintained with honesty and military faith. Is this to be best accomplished by leaving it in the hands of the score of men concerned, or would it be advanced by inviting in every troop or company the presence of Europeans of the baser sort, who would scandalize the Mohammedan by drinking, and the Hindoo by making all places smell of beef? The European has a right to go where he pleases, and to bring his drink and his beef along with him;—such will be the reply made from certain quarters. To which the response should be by a bold negation, if his presence brings evil in general, and the prevention of his own objects in particular. If the hazardous experiment is to be carried on, of governing foreign races with the proportion of one to a thousand,—the drinking, beef-eating European has no more right to demand to multiply himself there because he likes it, than in my wife's bed-chamber. Great and good men knew this, and held their ground. All this is now condemned under the title of "traditionary policy;" and the first result has been to lose India.

For what prospect is there, after all that has been done to make reconciliation impossible, that the promised happy family should ever be realized? Deeds of blood by a ruling party, do not settle down so easily. It is not very long since a titled lady found herself in danger of rough treatment in the West of England, because her descent was traced to Jeffreys. What were the deeds of Jeffreys and his coadjutors, to those of men who have had the thanks of parliament?

On Friday was a rather extensive discussion on the state of the Thames. In which it was remarkable, that though

engineers, financiers, and civil dignitaries, all spoke upon the subject, no mention was ever made, of what seems to be an essential element in every calculation, the *time of tide* at which the harmful matter is to be discharged into the river. There were ideas of going five miles from the city, and there were ideas of going forty. Fears were expressed of "colossal schemes;" and this may just make the difference between the five miles and the forty. With it, five miles may be effectual; and without it, forty might be thrown away. You must insinuate this point, through your Bradford gazette; for you may depend upon feeling an interest in it before it is done with. Call a committee of London watermen, and ask them whether if a man was drowned at high water at Woolwich, they would ever look for him at London Bridge; and whether if he fell in at low water, they would not.

A general determination was expressed, that action must be taken without delay; to which the government entirely agreed. The House went afterwards into Committee on the India Bill. The most important division was on Lord Palmerston's motion that the Council should be appointed by the Crown under the sign manual; an undisguised effort to transfer the powers of the East India Company directly to the minister. It was remarkable, that none of the accredited organs of what passes for the popular party, made any attempt to comment on the nature of the proposal. The motion however was negatived by 240 against 147.

On Monday was a debate arising out of what was virtually an attack on the ministerial budget, as being (which no man can deny) little more than a postponement of the evil day. Many good and some erroneous notions were given to the public; out of which is hoped the tendency will be to good. After the extravagant ideas our forefathers formed of the effects of a Sinking Fund, it is not wonderful that its credit should now be below the just mark. A sinking fund is simply the means of getting people to consent to pay their debts faster than they think of. The case may be made clear by an example. Fancy a rustic spendthrift who has got into debt £100, for which he is obliged to pay £5 per cent. to keep the wolf in the shape of a sheriff's officer from the door. Get this man persuaded to pay £6 per annum, and he or his heirs will be astonished at being told, that in 32 years he has paid off the debt. They look only at the £32 which have been paid in addition to the £5, and it appears miraculous that it should have paid off £100. The thing not seen, being that at every annual payment the capital sum for which

interest was demanded was diminished, and therefore less out of the £6 was every year going for interest, and more to the reduction of the debt. If the spendthrift had known how this was going on, he would have refused the £6 and spent it on nicknacks. So it is lucky for him he did not.

This then, and neither more nor less, is the mystery of a sinking fund. If the metaphorical personage named John Bull has got into debt a hundred millions, for which he is obliged to raise by taxes five millions annually for interest to the fund-holders,—it is as true as in the other case, that if he can persuade himself, or be persuaded, to tax himself to the amount of six millions annually, and appoint an Office under any name he likes, to buy up the debt and make himself his own creditor, in 32 years he may pronounce himself whole man and free, so far as the hundred millions are concerned.

About this there is nothing unintelligible or obscure, and it is clear that an intelligent nation, or a nation governed by intelligent men, would apply itself to reducing in this manner in time of peace the debt which might have been contracted in time of war. There are limits to it, as there are to everything else; and there might be a point somewhere, where it might be urged, that the money would be better left to fructify in the pockets of the tax-payers. But where that point is, good judgment is required to determine. One reason why there would be no use in making extravagant efforts to reduce the debt quickly to a non-entity, would be that it would only be an inducement to the discovery of foolish ways to set about immediate squandering. But it is evident that within certain limits, a reserve would be good. Would there have been any harm, for instance, in having had a reserve for such an accident as a pestilence in the metropolis? Or who can tell what strange things may be hanging over the country from within or from without? Prudent men have always a reserve for such occasions; and why should not a prudent government? It would be much better than the continual cry of "Spend, spend!"

The Income Tax also was touched upon; the point for concealment always being, that the abolition of the Income Tax is the struggle of the rich to throw taxation on the poor. It is not in the House of Commons that any good is to be done at present. As in the case of the Corn Laws, the matter must first be understood out of doors.

On Tuesday the Bill for the Disfranchisement of the Galway Freemen was in Committee. Anything, but the way reasonable men would go about to prevent bribery; which is to



make it impossible for the briber to know whether he gets his money's worth. There is also something exceedingly undesirable, in inducing a number of men to tell their misdeeds under a promise of impunity, and then punishing them *en masse*. The government admitted this ; and the Home Secretary, who entirely maintains the description I once ventured to give of him, put it forward with great force. He further intimated that there was not time for the Bill to be carried through now ; which most probably will end by being significant.

On Wednesday the Marriage Act Amendment Bill was in Committee, and everything in favour of the popular cause was carried by large majorities. The proposal to add a Clause to authorize marriage with a deceased wife's niece, was avowedly supported as a movement of the enemy ; and as such it is important that it should be viewed by the supporters of the Bill. The argument of the enemy was this ;—"If you give leave to marry a wife's sister, you may as well give leave to marry a wife's niece ; therefore we demand of you to burthen your case with the wife's niece." The fact all the time being, that the wife's niece and the wife's sister stand on entirely different grounds. The reasons against certain marriages, by laws human or divine, do not rest on fantasy, but on causes discoverable in human nature. And the grand cause of all, is that infancy and youth shall not be led astray through ignorance or undue influence, in consequence of the opportunities offered by domestic intercourse. It is equally for this reason, that a man shall not contemplate marrying his sister, nor the daughter of his brother. It is not fitting, that youth should be exposed, either to the suggestions of their own inexperience, or the temptations of ill-disposed elders. But there has been no tutelage exercised over the wife's sister in tender years ; for the parties are of the same generation, and therefore, on the average, of the same age. The wife's niece is of a younger generation, and sits as a child upon the husband's knee. There are therefore the same reasons in her case, as in the case of the brother's or sister's child. The interested in the legalization of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, should be aware of the strategem that is played off against them, and view the Wife's Niece as a confessed invention of the enemy.

On one other point, the forces of the enemy are concentrating ; and that is, to prevent the legalization of past marriages. In answer I refer to the precedent in the marriage of priests, in the period from Edward VI. to Elizabeth. If not now,

the legalization will be sure to come. But it would be as well it should be now.

The vote for excepting Ireland from the Bill, was of doubtful propriety, and was carried upon view of the non-interference of Irish members, and an understanding that the conductor of the Bill considered it as bearing upon ultimate success. I wonder whether Scotland and Ireland are proud, of the occasions on which they are seen lagging in the rear of improvements.

Yours, &c.

30 June, 1858.



DEBATES ON INDIA BILL.—HOUSE OF LORDS IN SETTLEMENT OF THE JEW QUESTION.—WHAT IS TO BE THE RESULT OF THE STRUGGLE IN INDIA ?—BILL TO SECURE THE RIGHT OF NEW TRIAL IN CRIMINAL CASES.

LVI.

ON Thursday 1 July the principal business in the House of Commons was the debate whether the appointments of the proposed Council should be for life, or for a term of years. Waiving the question whether the whole is not a portion of what in the country has gone by the name of "the crowning madness," the proposal of the government that they should be for life has the most show of reason. Two objections are started ; one, that we want a succession of "new blood," and the other that we want "independence." Now I desire to ask whether nature has not made a provision for new blood, by making old men mortal. The object of the demand for "new blood," is to bring forward as fast as possible the feelings and the interests which have just lost India, and will never recover or keep it. It is the old story of Rehoboam's counsellors. The old men kept India ; the new ones took it in hand, and the first thing they did was to blow up the whole concern. At this moment nothing is omitted which can parade in the eyes of the Natives of India the settled intention to change or destroy everything connected with their customs, laws, and opinions, which does not accord with the views of the party which is to be dominant. When an intelligent man who had been in India, alluded last night to the known immobility of opinions and practices in that country, and the little use there was in trying to alter them by fresh importations into the proposed Council every ten or fifteen years,—a member who never saw the face of an Indian except the sweeper of the crossing, rose to express his hope that

would see India transformed into a pet farm, with all kinds of happy and well-lettered peasantry. Truly if India is recovered and kept, it must be as a cat escapes by virtue of her ninth life, after all that man and dog can do to hinder.

And then on the score of "independence." Will independent men, of those who are to come from India bringing hot-and-hot the news of the processes going on there, be tempted by the offer of "ten years and turn-out;" or will they betake themselves to other lines of business, and try their luck as small agriculturists or general dealers, in preference to the trade of Indian Councillor? How would it be at Bradford? If you wanted to secure good men for managers in a large concern, would you proffer them the "ten-years and turn-out," or would you say, "Serve us as long as you are able, and if you survive your wits, we will treat you handsomely"?

But while the House of Commons is thus combating with clouds and visions, the news of a much more important decision comes from the other House. *Vivent les lords!* for having put a hook into the nose of one of bigotry's Leviathans, and drawn him out to make sport for our maidens. Wise men recollect these things, and are always more intent on supporting the friends they have, than quarrelling with them upon speculation. The determination of the Lords on the Jew question, makes a Lord twice the Lord he was before.

On Monday and Tuesday the India Bill dragged its slow length along; and is for reading a Third Time on Thursday. It is a remarkable instance of the importance of the "freedom of press and quill," and the imperfect machine a parliament is for the expression of the various shades of public opinion, that in all these voluminous debates nobody has ever alluded to so prominent a fact, as that the whole object of the Bill has received in places out of doors the name of the "crowning madness," and men who can show as good proofs of their attachment to existing institutions as those who make more noise about it, view it as perilous to the interests of the country and the honour of the Crown. It is never safe to prophesy; but it appears to be written on high, either that England shall lose India, or that if preserved it shall be in spite of all that men could do to lose it.

You ask me what I think will be the result of the struggle in India. It is just now in a position where it is not given to man to tell the immediate result; but the final consequences of such contests are much more within the range of experience and history. Wars against the religion, laws, and habits of one nation by another, especially when commenced in dark breach of faith, and conducted with revolting atrocity,

do very frequently end in the defeat of the guilty. If it was not so, there would be no living upon earth. And in the cases where greater power and more proficiency in the arts of destruction have enabled the aggressor to succeed, the final consequences are written against him by God's infinite mercy, in characters which might cannot expunge nor fury obliterate. The curse of blood is upon him and his. If the guilty shuffle off to their account, their posterity remain to answer the demands of Heaven's sheriff's officer, to the third and fourth generation. In all departments, ruffians get the upper hand. The taste for blood grows with indulgence. The man who has been used to his histories of new massacres at breakfast, is half-way towards performing in the same drama himself. The heart of the nation becomes brutalized, and men wear upon their countenances the desire to return to barbarism, and proclaim "I too would have murdered a Peruvian." Look at Spain and her doings in the New World, and see whether no solemn lesson has been read to the blood-guilty. As Spain, so might England be, by processes the dullest imagination would find no difficulty in framing. If the atrocity was anybody's but their own, all England would be one Polish, Greek, Italian, or Spanish Committee, to stigmatize the authors.

I gather from the apprehensions of certain portions of to-day's press, that there is a disposition among the officers of the Native Army in India to ask why the system under which they rose to celebrity and honour, is to be sacrificed to furnishing placards for a second edition of a newspaper. The wonder only is, that this has not been found out before. More will perhaps be heard of it.

On Wednesday the Bill to secure the right of new trial in criminal cases, was read a Second Time by 145 against 91. Another division was called for, on the motion that the Bill be committed; an unusual course, and which ended in the motion being carried by only 120 against 112. It will be interesting to the curious in such matters, to see who they were that received a new light in those ten minutes. And after all, one of the preparers of the Bill requested that it should be committed on that day three weeks, being the day after what has been mentioned for the prorogation of the House; which was received with loud laughter. On the whole if there are any that value this Bill, there is enough to show that it is time to look about them, and that their Bill is badly managed.

Yours, &c.

7 July, 1858.

INDIA BILL PASSED. — IRISH POLICE FORCE. — "SOCIALIST"
 PROPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT.—RELIEF OF THE METRO-
 POLIS.—CAFFRARIA.

LVII.

ON Thursday 8 July the Government of India Bill was read a Third Time and passed. So ends, as far as the members of the House of Commons are for the present concerned, the question of how a country is to be governed if they cannot contrive to lose it, and what salaries are to be paid to the curators and guardians who are to recover what they could not keep when they had it. Jupiter was said to laugh at lovers' perjuries. He might have amused himself in the political instead of the amatory line, if the art of wood-engraving had been known, and the merry-maker of Olympus had edited a "Punch."

On the same day a Bill was introduced for making changes in the Irish Police Force. On hearing a minister descendant on the large proportion of Catholics to Protestants in that force or portions of it, I said to myself, "Here are wise men, like those who lived before the Flood of fools in India. They are going to manage Ireland by Irishmen. We shall see no attacks upon the religion of the majority. They will govern like the Company which has this day been gathered to its fathers, and show the world how countries are governed when the policy of men and not of monkeys is put in action." Great then was my disappointment on finding that instead of this, the admitted object was to correct the evil of Catholic ascendancy. The proportions stated, did in the most prominent cases, approach to something like the proportion between the two classes of religionists as commonly laid before the public. Whether this was an evil to be corrected, and whether wiser statesmen, even if they had determined it to be so, would not have endeavoured to do it by less irritating means than blowing a trumpet before it in the House of Commons, is what the public must judge of, according to their several notions of what makes a statesman's skill if such a thing exists.

In the Sale and Transfer of Land (Ireland) Bill, on a motion to omit a portion of the 87th clause which provided a graduated rate of charge according to the value of the property (consisting, on reference to the Bill, in a rate of duty of 10 shillings on every £100 of gross value under £10,000, and 20 shillings when the gross value shall be £10,000 or upwards), an economist of the late ministry resisted the clause

in the government's Bill as what he called a "Socialist" proposal, an epithet which undoubtedly was not intended to be conciliatory. Whereupon I call on every poor man who may think himself aimed at by the term, to ask why this political economist said nothing of the instances in which the poor are made to pay,—not at a double rate, but at a rate which has sometimes amounted to ten and eleven times the rate upon the rich, and not contingent on the possession of £10,000, but on every pennyworth it may be his habit to expend. If the poor were in the practice of taking counsel together, I would send round to them this escapade of our economist, like the pieces of the Benjamite's concubine, to rouse then into common action upon the point. They will have the same over again on the question of the Income Tax; where a mortal pudder has been raised against so harmless a proposal, as that the community should have the relief which would arise from allowing every man to deduct, say £150, from his income, and pay on the remainder. We do not want the lions to be the sculptors; but we may be allowed to wish the sculptors would have more feeling for the lions.

On Friday the question was raised, of the propriety of the country's contributing to the relief of the Metropolis under the impending pestilence. I should be happy if anything said had a tendency to rouse the old generous feeling among what foolish enemies have contemptuously called the "cotton-lords." When Rome wanted a *cloaca maxima*, I do not believe the effort was confined to the costermongers of the capital; nor is it recorded that men waited till the city was decimated by a plague. The members of the House of Commons did not show themselves advanced in zeal; but the country, as the "whisperer," Mr. Rarey's predecessor, used to say of horses, must "talk to them."

On Friday there was considerable debate on Education. This is one of the questions on which no good will be done, till the people get power to interfere; and to do that they must have the Ballot. The state of things revealed in the course of the debate was a curious one. Sums of money are voted from the public purse for the education of such as cannot afford it for themselves. But here step in the religionists of all kinds, and say, "There is one question on which men invariably quarrel, which is religion; and so far as in us lies, there shall be no education without introducing this quarrelsome element to the greatest extent which we or anybody else that is disposed can devise." And so your money and the public's, goes for quarrelling. If they want

more religious instruction, why do not they ask for more church or for more church hours ; and not take it by a fraud from money voted for another purpose ? In Ireland the effect is this. The funds for education get into the hands of the "over-good Protestants,"—as the Frenchman talked of the "*trop bons Catholiques*,"—and then when the zeal to have education at any risk, induces six hundred thousand Catholic children to be sent to school, the conductors bully them with discussions on the quantity of sin that was in the mother of Christ, and other questions grievous to a Catholic to endure. Now this is a fraud ; and a fraud which men not art and part in it would stop. And it will not be stopped till men out of doors have sense enough to say, that religion shall be taught in churches and chapels for that end designed and paid for, and reading, writing, and the rule of three shall be taught in places by themselves, without being hindered by clerical introductions of any kind, any more than people shall be stopped in church in the middle of the Litany, by a demand to rehearse the articles of their Multiplication Table.

On Monday was long debate on a motion for doing away with the African squadron employed for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The main argument was very weak ; consisting in an assertion that the Cubans, who are the great slave-importers, got "as many slaves as they wanted," in spite of the squadron. And in the same breath it was stated from the same side, that the slave-vessels crowded a hundred where there ought to be twenty-five, in the confidence that in one way or other, only twenty-five in the hundred would be landed.

This is the argument we were familiar with, in the days of the Corn Laws. "Englishmen get as much corn as they want." Which meant that they got as much corn as they chose to pay for at the increased price. It was stated from other sources, that the price of a slave in Cuba was eighty pounds, while in places close by, it was thirty pounds. Bradford merchants will tell you the effects of such a difference in the price of the raw material. And this, it did not seem to be denied, was the doing of the squadron. The opinion of the House was clearly expressed, by a majority against the motion, of 223 to 24.

On Tuesday considerable energy was displayed by the friends of economy, in opposing superfluities in the Estimates. On one occasion a sum was struck off from the expenses of the National Gallery by a majority of 128 to 110. On the face of the published "Votes," it might be supposed the

Division was for cutting down the Salaries and Expenses of the Mixed Commissions for suppressing the Traffic in Slaves ; and friends would be surprised at finding my name on that side in a Division.

It would be superfluous to dwell on the opinion so often expressed, that a jealous eye should be kept on expenditure for the amusement of the wealthy classes. Suspect Architecture ; suspect Art. Both may be good things in their way ; but unless jealously watched, they run into demonstration that one set of men were spending, and another paying. The pyramids of Egypt are a specimen of the extreme case ; where a king built a family tomb at the expense of the toil and lives of the hardly-worked millions. The odds are, that of the European capitals, Petersburg would be found the most architectural.

Twenty thousand pounds were voted for the Colony of Caffraria. A point which ought to have been definitively settled before agreeing to the Vote, is whether there is or is not a provision for all Caffrarians in the territory in question, being or becoming good Englishmen and true, as fast as ever they will give their consent. The difference between some of the Caffrarians and a London citizen, is not much greater than with some Scottish Highlanders in the time of Charles the First, or with some from the sister island in the wars which followed, when it is written in the records of the day, concerning an Irish vessel which came into Padstow, "Since the writing of my Letter, here is Captaine *Farre* come from *Padstow*, who with Captaine *Wogan* boarded the Irish Vessel, and with the assistance of the Townsmen and Townswomen put them all to the Sword but two, about thirty in all, wicked naturall Irish." (*The Burning-Bush not consumed: or, The Fourth Part of the Parliamentarie-Chronicle*, p. 386.—1646.) I remember showing the passage to Mr. Shiel in the House of Commons Library.

This is a point which ought to be settled ; for without it, it is all only pouring water into a colander. And the first European nation which acts vigorously upon the system, may take possession of all the dark-skinned regions of the earth.

On Wednesday the Local Government Bill was read a Third Time and passed.

Yours, &c.

14 July, 1858.



CORRUPT PRACTICES CONTINUANCE BILL, DIRECTED TO GIVE ELECTIONS TO THE LONGEST PURSE.—NEWS FROM JIDDA.—THAMES.—JEW BILL PASSED.

LVIII.

ON Thursday 15 July the House was in Committee on what is denominated the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act Continuance Bill. It might be entitled an Act for 'giving the election of members of parliament to the longest purse. Its first enactment determines, that where a rich and a poor man are rival candidates, it shall be lawful for the rich man to apply his wealth to bringing voters to the poll. The reason, because without so enabling the rich man to turn the election by the application of his wealth, the voters would not vote at all. It is therefore portion of the birthright of every free and independent elector, that in case of a contest between a rich man and a poor, the rich man may bring him to the poll.

The motion to insert "not" after "It shall" and before "be lawful," was put down by 265 against 70. The lion never yet pared its own claws, nor the rich forewent the influence of their wealth. This will probably be heard of, among the objections to the Ballot. "Of what use is it to the rich man to be able to bring voters to the poll, if he is not to have the means of knowing which way they voted afterwards?" Which it is possible may cut two ways. There is a talk of getting up an opposition to the Third Reading.

More food for the blood-drinkers has come from Jidda. I know the place, and can fancy what it would have been to be there. But what is the use of reasoning on events, when your affairs abroad are in the hands of ruffians and insane orang-outans, unless these last enter a protest against the association. You enlist a large army of Mohammedans; you break faith with them and then blow them from guns; you capture a Mohammedan "of rank," and because he was "of rank" you go to the history of the Jews for a precedent, and stuff his mouth with pork, and then he is scourged after the Roman manner (I wonder they omitted a crown of thorns), and put to death by hanging on a tree. Your officers boast of having invented a new English torture, "hell fire," and apply the scourge to their prisoners till they consent to damn their souls, and then they hang them. Princes "as justly seated on their throne, as proud imperial Philip on his own," are butchered under trust by the hands of commissioned officers; and the House of Commons, if I am not mistaken, includes them in its thanks. And then a wanderer from the scene (such is the account) arrives at Jidda, and with the aid of

further irritation from some present act, excites the populace to rise against all of European race. This is the way the ball of blood rolls on, increasing as it goes; beginning with the opium massacre at Canton, and to finish where heaven knows, and it would perhaps be dangerous to try to say. The French have a proverb, that "Who wills the means, wills the end." If a Protestant hot from St. Bartholomew's had made his appearance in an English sea-port, with the news that Coligny had had his mouth stuffed with *dog*, and then been scourged and finally hanged, and in aid of this a seizure of a vessel for the French king had at that moment been made, everybody will admit that a popular rising like that at Jidda would have been a probable result. As it is, the British lion will lap more blood; and so it will in all likelihood go on, till Europe which has been brought into the fray, turns round upon the authors and the simpletons their accomplices, in a manner which may leave a lesson the world will be the better for. Once more, there is no use in allowing ruffians to play their pranks, and sitting down quietly to pay for all that may come of it. The world is blackened by British brutality. As the latest, read in the *Morning Advertiser* of 20 July the account of the protracted and double execution of the Rajah of Nurgood* ; and ask whether England ought to be admitted into the good society of nations.

On the same evening the government's plan was brought forward, for providing for the purification of the Thames. It held out no prospect of giving any direct assistance to the City; but, waiving that question, it showed both talent and goodwill. It proposed a rate to be raised of such a magnitude as should pay the interest of borrowing three millions at 4 per cent., and moreover pay off the principal in forty years, on the principle which has been so often described as the reasonable operation of what is called a Sinking Fund. Though not strictly within the question before the House, digression was made towards discussing the nature of the operations to be applied to the river; and it is impossible to avoid saying that some of the proposals let out, were of dangerous appearance. If a country gentleman had turned his water-closets into his fish-pond, and then instead of removing the cause had proposed to cure it by "deodorizing," I doubt whether he would raise his credit for sagacity. But something very like this, was among the things dwelt on, by members of professional name. This, however, must not be confounded with the declaration of the government which announced the intention to try "deodorizing" as the temporary means of diminishing the instant evil.

On Friday sharp debate in Committee, on the legalization of the right of bribery in the shape of travelling expenses. The fallacy put forward was, that absentee voters ought to be enabled to vote; *argui*, they ought to be paid by the candidate they vote for. I should like to know how the affair is to be conducted. Is a cheque to be given "Pay to A. B. so many pounds, shillings, and pence, to bring him to the poll; signed M.N., Conservative candidate." On the same principle I do not see why the Minister should not pay my carriage hire, as the means of bringing me to the House to vote for his measures. If it is maintained that a Member's carriage hire ought to be paid, let the question be entertained; but let another question, be by whom it shall be paid, and whether it should not least of all be paid by the Minister.

The question was carried *for* the bribery and *against* the Judges, by 125 to 68; so "bribery has it." There is still a chance, that some opposition may be shown before the thing becomes law.

At nine on Friday night the Bill to provide for the Relief of Her Majesty's Subjects professing the Jewish Religion was read a Second Time by 156 votes against 65. This demonstrates a very extensive belief, that it might be entitled a Bill for the relief of Her Majesty's Christian Subjects as well.

On Monday the Bill for the Purification of the Thames was read a second time. Whatever may be thought of the propriety of assisting the metropolis on this head, there are points on which the provinces will assuredly find themselves interested. In the first place, they have already contributed, or it is settled they shall contribute, out of the general stock, which I believe goes by the name of the Consolidated Fund. For what is the volunteering that public buildings shall pay to the rate which did not pay before, but paying out of the Consolidated Fund as far as it extends? And in the next place, hardly anybody doubts that the sum at present named, will prove insufficient; and the next time, the Consolidated Fund will hear of it.

The country therefore has a distinct interest in the thing being done cheaply; and to be done cheaply, it must be done effectually, for if it is not done effectually, it will only be to do over again. And here I am struck with a point or two, on which the country would do well to contribute its thoughts. The Bill brought in by the government is good as a move; and it is manifestly drawn up with a view to secure that move, with the least unnecessary pledging to what shall be done afterwards. But I do not like the word "deodorization." Who knows anything about deodorization, and what it can

do and what it cannot? Will any man finding a nuisance in his sitting-room, "deodorize" it and then take it to his bosom? If a country gentleman had been unwise enough to lead his water-closets into his fishpond (which is neither more nor less than what has been done in the metropolis)—will he be content to "deodorize," or will he alter the arrangement which led to the mischief? This is one point on which I foresee danger; for I utterly disbelieve that any mixture will make sewage fit for human neighbourhood. And another is, that nobody appears to attach the desirable importance, to the admission of the sewage at *high water only*. This of course involves engineering difficulties, and points to carrying the outlet to a greater distance. But without it, we shall only be met by the discovery that nothing has been done. I desire a committee of watermen, with a mixture of Greenwich pensioners. A new point of difficulty has been suggested to-night by an officer of high standing, and which ought to be submitted to that committee for their serious consideration. It is, that after the neap or lowest tides, the sewage though admitted only at high water, will be carried upwards in consequence of the tides increasing daily, and therefore (the apprehension is) going higher and higher up. There appears to be omission of the fact, that if the tides go higher and higher up, they also go lower and lower down; from which the result may only be, a small retardation of the process by which a given quantity of matter discharged at high water, will reach the ocean. These are the kind of questions to which wits must be applied; as being, in the compound ratio of the nearness and the intensity of the effects, of at least as much importance to the community concerned, as the discovery of a planet exterior to the known.

On the same night, the Speaker's leaving the chair for the purpose of going into Committee on the Jew Bill, was opposed; but on division was carried by 144 against 40. The Bill afterwards went through Committee without let or hindrance.

On Tuesday, debate on the Jew Bill being proposed for reading the Third Time. The opponents of the Bill resisted by moving adjournments, at the end of which their numbers fell to 22 against 99. The Third Reading however was deferred till Wednesday; when after some debate it was carried by 129 against 55.

Yours, &c.

21 July, 1858.



THAMES PURIFICATION.—CORRUPT PRACTICES CONTINUANCE BILL.—ROYAL ASSENT TO JEW BILL.—BARON DE ROTHSCHILD TOOK THE OATHS AND HIS SEAT.

LIX.

ON Thursday 22 July was more discussion on the subject of the purification of the Thames, ending in no very marked immediate result. But my impression from the whole is, that the government mean to keep the affair in their own hands, and act like wise men thereon. And with a view to this, they want to avoid pledging themselves further than they can help, to any distinct plan for the present. You will observe that their Bill is full of contingencies. Certain things may be done for a beginning, and certain other things may be done if certain other things succeed. In all this, they act like sensible people, and as you would do at Bradford if the question was your own. One inference is, that the subject is very open for the action of public opinion. It is clearly intended that there shall be time to think, but nevertheless a beginning shall be made, and the process of curing and thinking go on as far as they can without prejudice to each other.

On Friday was more of important debate on the Bill for legalizing the payment of voters by a candidate in the shape of travelling expenses. Very strong opposition was made to its contents of various kinds; and in two instances divisions were lost by the differences of 56 to 69, and 75 to 78. The arguments of what is called the conservative side, were peculiarly flimsy. They stated, that it was a great evil the law should be uncertain,—and therefore it ought to declare for the bad. That the thing was practised now to a great extent,—and therefore it behoved (as the Scottish phrase is) to render it lawful. I wonder whether gentlemen conservatives think in the same manner on the practices which tend to the depopulation of their game. Question was pointedly asked from the Liberal side, whether the candidate who went into the market under the protection of the law with a proffer of travelling expenses to any who would vote for him, was to have a remedy in case the voter was found to have voted for the wrong man;—in other words, what was to be the bond between the briber and the bribee, and what steps the law provided for seeing justice done between these two meritorious characters. It is not clear yet, that something may not be done on the Third Reading. And though parliament is expected to be prorogued before these presents in the course of

nature can come before the public, it is not impossible that if friends at your intimation would take up the question promptly, their action might be useful. A Petition, as I have endeavoured to impress before, may on occasion be as good as a speech; and I am sure that a dozen or two of Petitions from different boroughs where there is anybody who does not wish to see the out-voters brought in by bargain with the man that offers to pay, would be very useful if in time. Whatever comes of it, the Act to legalize bribery will be only for one year; and therefore any action taken now, will be so much done towards the explosion in demand of the Ballot, which must take place a year or two hence.

I have just heard the Royal Assent given to the Jew Bill; and so one of the remaining jaw teeth of bigotry has been broken in its head. On the whole, the enemy is rather in the condition of John Bunyan's giant, who could only grin at pilgrims as they passed. After all, Queen, Lords and Commons are not so bad, whatever the republicans over the water may vainly talk. We can put down a mischief with pains; which is more than they can. But we have the advantage, of not having had negro-drivers in our pedigrees.

Such was the position of things at four p.m. on Friday. But since that, a good deal has happened. It is ascertained that the government intended only what is called a Continuation Bill, in the case of the Corrupt Practices Act. But on receiving the active co-operation of a Metropolitan member sitting on what is called the Liberal side, they took courage to push for a clause to legitimize that species of bribery which consists in offering the payment of travelling expenses to out-voters as an inducement to come and vote for the candidate who will pay; and it further includes the license for a rich candidate to run against a poor one, by the offer of all manner of cabs and pleasing conveyances to men too idle to use their own legs to walk to the poll. It was avowed from the Tory benches, that this was by way of compensation for the abandonment of the Property Qualification for Members; and £1500 was mentioned as the sum desirable to be expended by candidates in proof of their "independence." The member for Tiverton (the late minister) supported; so that the two sections of the aristocracy are united against the people. As an instance how rapid is the descent to evil, the opposers of the Bill were met with drunken howlings,—for sober men do not howl,—from the Tory side. A member who spoke, called it a yell. I suppose I have not served ashore and afloat, without knowing the sounds of a drunken man.

But the drunk, like the insane, are sometimes cunning, and I could not make out the individual; the noises having the effect of coming from under benches, where I suppose the representative of the people ensconced himself. This is the way a Bill is to be carried, declared in the House to be the heaviest blow to the purity of election ever given.

The Bill, in spite of remonstrances, was ordered for Third Reading on Monday at twelve o'clock, being precisely the time when the greatest number of Members will be not returned from the country, or absent from other causes. It may be concluded therefore, that unless something unexpected happens, the game is up, and there is nothing for us to do, but get our hounds in order. The report in the House is, that there is to be a General Election when parliament separates; and this Bill is the Tory preparation for it. My advice to friends consequently is, that they throw aside all confidence in the moderation of the ministerial intentions,—on which I may perhaps to some extent be chargeable with having been too confiding,—and prepare themselves in their several ways as quickly as possible for an active campaign with any assistances which they can find. The ministry have not only declared war; they have made an occupation of territory. It is for us therefore equally to be up and doing. There is one word would scatter them, if the people would lay aside trifling and gather round it. And that word is the "Ballot." When great rogues cannot prove that little rogues have done what they were paid for, great rogues will be shy of paying, and honest men will have their own besides.

On Friday at half-past seven P.M., after the Speaker had three times put the motion for adjournment till Monday and been stopped by members rising, and many had probably gone away in security that the motion would be carried, a member of the government rose and said the House must meet on Saturday; and so the motion was withdrawn. This sort of proceeding is so contrary to what would be followed by any other set of men anxious to do business in a way consistent with fairness and general convenience, that it will make subject of comment when more pressing matter is away.

On Saturday a number of Bills were what is called "forwarded a stage."

On Monday at a quarter before 1 P.M. Baron de Rothschild took the oaths and his seat in the House of Commons. In pursuance of the Property Qualification Bill, no question was asked of the Baron touching his worldly goods. He was sworn on the original Hebrew of the Old Testament; and on

coming to the point where he was to kiss the book, he put on his hat for an instant, and said "So help me Jehovah." It sounds like Mount Sinai among the stock-brokers. We have here a remnant of the Oriental custom of wearing the head covered both in-doors and out. One consequence of which is, that to uncover the head is a freedom not to be taken before those who are to be treated with respect; in fact the same kind of liberty it would be for a man to take off his coat and waistcoat in a drawing-room, on the plea of cooling himself. I only remember once in India seeing an Indian take off his turban in company, and thought him a very impudent fellow. In this may be traced the origin of the Hebrew's covering his head, when he appeals to the God of Israel.

A rather significant fact, was that a member (W. J. Fox) intimated in debate, that the Queen had 180 millions more of subjects, whose claims to similar toleration would at some time have to be considered.

At the same sitting the Corrupt Practices Continuance Bill was read a Third Time and passed. When a mask is to be thrown off, the sooner the better. We know now, what Tory Reform is to be; and are on our legs accordingly. It would be a fine time for the House of Lords to give us occasion to repeat the "Political Register's" doxology.

On Tuesday motion was made that the consideration of the Lords' Amendments on the India Bill should be postponed for six months. Why the mover did not give the opportunity of recording their opinions to those who consider the whole as "a crowning madness," is not explained. But it gave me an opportunity for putting on record the spirited expression of Miss Martineau, and also ventilating the idea that the most powerful engine towards pacifying India if the thing be possible, would be to bring up an Indian Mohammedan to the table of the House as was done with a Hebrew yesterday. It has all my life been my fate to start hares which have been run down at last; and so it may be now. The subject is enveloped in much vulgar ignorance; but this is only a reason why those who are neither vulgar nor ignorant should move. Will any friend in the habit of attending to passing events, direct me to the Bishop who during the Crimean war when there was an interest in conciliating the Mohammedans, said Mohammedanism was an offset of Christianity, or words to that effect? We are not to lose an Empire because men below the degree of a Bishop are stupid and cannot read Arabic. This may not be exactly the place for entering on all the subject might lead to; but it shall be ready when the

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place is found. Meantime I testify to having talked theology with Mohammedans of the rank of sovereign prince, and with the chief agent or Cardinal Legate at Jidda of the Sherff or Mohammedan Pontiff who lives forty miles off at Mecca, and found them more liberal and tolerant than any Christians of mark I can point to, save only the estimable Father in God before referred to. The ignorant in all religions are blood-thirsty animals; but there is no need why the ignorant should rule, and others stand the damage. The times are over when men will fight about creeds, except for the liberty of them.

At the evening sitting the House was adjourned till Friday.

Yours, &c.

28 July, 1858.



FINAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE INDIA BILL.—LORDS' OBJECTIONS TO COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—MORNING SITTINGS.—QUEEN'S SPEECH.

LX.

ON Thursday 29 July, the most remarkable thing was the way in which the House of Commons sat waiting for Bills from the Lords, being represented by one Clerk and one Member present, while the contents of the Strangers' and Reporters' Gallery sat with all gravity, as if expecting some extraordinary natural phenomenon to arise. I imagine the acting motive to have been, a desire to get the Bills before the House that night, in order that they might be talked over next day, and not demand a sitting on Saturday.

On Friday was a discussion on the India Bill, in which the party who take that side, did all in their power to promote the Natives of India dying in the last ditch, by sending them through the columns of the London papers the assurance of the determination to put down their religions as the wrong ones, and their laws and customs as not agreeing with those of their European lords and masters. If our side was found doing the like, it is not impossible there would be a talk of high treason. But the Priest and the Levite have time immemorial had a way of their own. And then they run down us poor Samaritans, as if we had not a voice to speak for us in earth or heaven.

The Amendments of the Lords were finally agreed to, as needs they must where no effective resistance had been made on the main question. The Lords resisted the appointment of officers to the Indian army when there is one, by competi-

tive examination, except in the artillery and engineers. The reason, because it is the privilege of the Crown to appoint officers. But if the Crown can waive its privileges in the case of the artillery and engineers, why not in the case of others also, if there would be the same use? Sir James Graham made a most statesmanlike speech, on the enormous advantage of choosing men who in one way or other have demonstrated ambition and the power of self-control. To which the answer appeared to be, that the possession of these qualities does not prove a man to be "a good fellow." How *we would* turn over the "good fellows," out of the Mechanics' Institutes and Temperance Societies, if it was possible the thing should ever be brought to such an issue!

On Monday 2 August Parliament was prorogued with the usual ceremonies. There was a curiosity to know whether reference would be made in the Queen's Speech, to the admission of the Jews; but there was not, unless as it might be involved in the declaration of intention to do justice to subjects of every race and creed, directed to India. It is certain, that this admission of the Jews, in the hands of statesmen, if the breed is not worn out like golden pippins, might as it is, be made a powerful instrument towards quieting, if the thing be upon the cards, the mischief which an opium-smuggler and a couple of mad lieutenant-colonels have been allowed to do.

When the Session was over, I engaged to say something on the subject of morning sittings. Their general effect is to do something like splitting up the House of Commons into committees. It has often been proposed to have two Speakers; and sometimes, I believe, to have parliaments holden at different places all going on at the same time. And this has been justly opposed, on the ground that the effect of a House of Commons does not depend on the uttering or printing a certain number of words which may be equally done at York or Edinburgh, but on the notion of its being a General Council, where all and everything is to be discussed by the representatives of all and everybody, or at least there is the chance and possibility of it. It may not be always done; but it is a long way from that, to the impossibility of its being done. And the consequence of the present practice is, that every man who has something to produce which he had rather submit to the few than the many,—something which he would like to be argued by himself and interested on one side, and the least possible number of opponents on the other,—something where he would like to be without the interference of such public opinion as may come from men

who have no urgent interest either for or against the particular thing in hand,—every man of this kind, asks for a morning sitting.

To which another evil is, that the reporters do not report morning sittings, or report them in the way men deal with what they think of inferior importance. A slight inspection of the past, would confirm this conclusion. The best men cannot work all day and all night; so they naturally discover some period when they may stand at ease. But if reporting is good at all,—and nobody can doubt that it is the life's blood of a popular government,—it is good that it should be the best possible, and not be made worse in kind by being put beyond human endurance to execute.

Further evils of morning sittings are, that by their very rules they dispense with the laws which prudence has laid down for the conduct of other meetings of the House. A meeting at what the officers of the House call "usual time," which is a quarter before four, must show forty members before four o'clock, or the House is adjourned for an occasion when members may be in better humour for attending. But at what is called a morning sitting, which is at twelve o'clock, the House waits for an unlimited period, or as I think I have heard till four o'clock, to obtain the forty, and cannot be broken up or as it is called "counted out," till the same hour. All demonstrating a foregone design to get rid of the restrictions for other cases made and provided. So that if anybody wants to have a matter settled with half a dozen members in the House, this is his time. When the country looks after its business more sharply than at present, this will perhaps be looked to.

The Queen's Speech is good-tempered and lengthy; and there are those, I see, who criticize it as a literary performance. Nevertheless it is a much better thing upon the whole, than what comes to us across the Atlantic. There is at all events no avowed pandaring to slavery. The Queen's advisers may have darkling notions of what is going on in India, and what it is all about. But they are not art and part in a scheme for the oppression of every man whose complexion a tropical sun has damaged. It is to be done without them.

Yours, &c.

4 August, 1858.



QUEEN'S VOYAGE TO CHERBOURG.—REFLECTIONS THEREUPON.
—PROGRESSIVE CHANGES IN THE WORLD.—POLICY OF
SENSIBLE MEN IN CONSEQUENCE.

LXI.

THE subject of most interest at the present moment, is the Queen's voyage to Cherbourg ; not as a piece of gossip or news-making, but for its connexion with serious affairs.

It certainly was an ill-advised and in some sort unseemly proceeding, for the ruler of one country to invite the sovereign of another, to be present at the inauguration of a great war-like preparation under the precise circumstances of the case. It was causing a needless examination and probing into all the possible reasons for viewing the preparation with jealousy ; and therefore unadvised. It was setting the ministers of the Queen at needless variance with the portions of the population by whom such jealousy was entertained ; and therefore unseemly. It was saying to all these parties, "Do something you will not like ; or quarrel with us." This is not civility ; at least it is not what is so accounted in the intercourse of common life. Nor of political life either ; for it would be hard to find a parallel to it, except in the case of some Governor-General of India who in the naughtiness of his heart should have invited a Rajah to come and see the forces which were to move against him if need be.

Even if not perfectly accurate, there was a strong idea abroad, that Cherbourg was a purely offensive demonstration. There might be fortifications in progress on the English side ; but nobody had ever found out that they were directly or indirectly for the purpose of threatening France. Alderney has been talked of ; but nobody had speculated on fleets of forty sail of the line sheltering themselves in Alderney, or thought the fortifications there were for anything but the desire of spending money, joined to some vague idea of danger to Alderney from its proximity to the French shores.

The thing would have been more specious, if there had been in hand between the two countries any joint operation of maritime war, as might have been the case if a Russian fleet during the Crimean contest had been apprehended in the Channel. But nothing of this kind was in existence. It was simply like Squire A. saying to Squire B. with whom there have been ancestral quarrels,—“Come and see what a rush we could make into your grounds, if ever the quarrel was opened again.”

It will be only a new phase of the same phenomenon, if the President of the United States should send an invitation to view his preparations for occupying Cuba, and spreading slavery over Central America. And the same reasons which induced the responsible ministers to advise acquiescence with the first, would be likely to recommend the same course in the second.

The reasons which operate in both cases, are the consciousness that the relative position of the powers of the world is changing, and that no measures have been taken, or are likely to be, for counteracting in one way the unfavourable changes in another. A dozen of centuries ago, and Denmark was the principal maritime power in the Northern world. The Danes were "sea-kings," and their "raven" shook his wings on all shores. But times changed, without the Danes being in fault. Other nations grew, and grew faster than the Danes. The "raven," a prophetic bird, no doubt took this in dudgeon, and declared that there wanted nothing but for the Danish raven to show himself, and the thing that was must be the thing that would be. Nevertheless the world went on its course, and the Danish raven was obliged to sink into a well-conducted bird, that ate what it could honestly come by, and was glad to shelter itself under the general compact which said one fowl should stand by another for common right to all.

And so it is now with England. The power of doing wrong is slipping away, and every year increases her interest in the establishment of a National Law to say that nations great or small shall combine against the evil-doer. We are fast lapsing into that painful state, when we must bombard nobody, plunder nobody, too happy if half a dozen other nations will combine in turn to prevent anybody from plundering *us*. It is a fearful fall; as bad as when it was proposed to the Highland reiver to take one of his sons and make him a Glasgow merchant. The pity is, that if this is inevitable, such slow progress has been made in what is good for our condition. England will always be strong enough to be a centre of union for the weak and the oppressed in all lands. England will only put up with endless mortifications, if it sets its heart on anything else.

A powerful accessory to making life independent of the fighting trades, is to be found in the improved ideas on commerce which have happily made progress in the world. Our ancestors were under temptation to view every nation of inferior strength, as what Providence had placed before them

to be bombarded, pillaged, and destroyed, either directly or virtually, and the honey from the hive carried off with a view to being lodged in their own combs. This idea is traceable with more or less distinctness in all the proceedings of our ancestors; and they called it "commercial rivalry." It was akin to the feeling with which one cannibal looks upon another, as what might be turned to profit in the eating line if there was certainty of not being finally the eaten. It is only within the memory of man, that nations have begun to look at one another without these anthropophagous longings. They exist among us notwithstanding. In the case of China for instance, the appetite of the holders to ancient practice, is for shooting as many of your customers as they are able, and poisoning the rest. If Bradford was left to itself, its preference would be for cultivating honest trade; in confidence that even if the Chinese did not consume goods of the Bradford model, they would consume goods of somebody's model, and if this made the world richer, it must in the long run come round in the shape of increased orders to Bradford. A West Riding manufacturer had rather see the chances of this, than be told that a foolish man had been carried under twenty canopies into the presence of Yeh, or that Yeh himself had been kidnapped with ever so much glory and renown. The end may not be now; but there is that in progress, which will put down the reign of irrationals whether on four feet or on two, and leave the world for such as God meant to hold it.

Yours, &c.

11th August, 1858.



WHY IS THE PRESS ANXIOUS FOR THE ANNEXATION OF MEXICO BY THE SLAVE POWER? ARE NEGRO-DOGS WANTED FOR INDIA!—REPORTERS FROM CHERBOURG.

LXII.

AN allowable question, and not altogether unconnected with what you published in your last, is what can be the reason of the active desire of an influential portion of the British press to see the restoration of slavery in Mexico. There is no concealment about the matter, and no stretching of any point in the representation here made. The desire categorically expressed, is for the annexation of Mexico by the slave power in the United States, with a distinct, verbally announced understanding, that slavery is to go along with it.

When the States of Central America effected their emancipation from Spanish rule, their Abolition of Slavery went a long way in promoting the feeling of exultation with which the Englishman of that day looked on the result, and increasing the popularity of the minister who was said to have called a new world into existence to balance the old. But that was the ancient Englishman,—honourable, thoughtful, moral, having no basenesses of his own to prosecute, and therefore under no temptation to pandar to the basenesses of other people. It would have puzzled the Englishman of that day to surmise by what processes his island should be occupied by men bawling for the restoration of the cart-whip and the supremacy of the lash, in what might be called England's client-countries and born allies.

Few words may account for it,—familiarity with evil. The man who has laid down his honesty, and the woman her modesty,—do not stop at the mischief to themselves. They become denizens of a new world, where like plague patients each is infected and infects, and all fry together in an *olla podrida* where Satan's cooks might lick their fingers. Nothing but this could have shown the world English journals solicitous to blow their horns as whippers-in to the slave-hunters of New Orleans. But the thing is so, and talking about it will not alter it.

It is possible to conceive two channels in which the present temptation may have run. Was it a wish to do something which was to merit a *quid pro quo* in some direction ;—an eye towards what has been shadowed out in your pages under the title of Tripartite Treaty ;—an effort to say we are ready to abet any felony of yours, if you will have the kindness to abet ours in turn ? Or might it be a simple anxiety to see the propagation of crime, without too provident a bargain for the personal results ; a disinterested longing to hear and report of "fun" in novel regions of the earth ;—a solicitude, perhaps, for what might be the effect on the sister arts of paragraph-making and wood-engraving, if there were a sudden cessation of anybody to blow from guns, or put to the torture before death *à la Britannique* ? Commercial shocks should be eased off if possible ; and it would have a salutary effect if the market could be for a while sustained, by lively representations of the destruction of a Mexican family by the four-footed soldiery, or winning portraiture of the costume of the hunt. Could not something more be done in a friendly way ? Instead of sending to Russia, or Algeria for models for Indian practitioners as the

Anglo-Indian press demands, a few thoroughly-blooded of the English breed should be forwarded to America. That would be the way, if what they want is to ask for negro-dogs for India.

To return to things nearer home, there are many signs of the little good that was to come out of the Cherbourg confabulations. Where most sense was to be expected, there appears to be least. The Foreign Affairs Committees will do well to lay the things to heart, as proof how much they have their notions to themselves, and may please themselves with being the babes to whom is revealed what was hidden from the wise and prudent. To think that men aspiring to be statesmen, should imagine the results of hostility between the natives of two countries, were to be affected by the form of their trousers, or the greater or less beauty of their women! In all regions of the earth, from sage to savage, people are powerfully affected by any kindness to their women, and the contrary. Why then should any man try to leave a seed of enmity and dislike? And the speculations on ships and shipping are not more profound. Naval battles are not won by men dancing on the truck. It was all very well to keep up a Jack-tarish kind of excitement when the thing was wanted; but it had been hoped that the world had outgrown that stage.

Once more, the part of wise men in these days, is not to try to exasperate one another by sarcasms on their trousers or their women, but to look into the possibilities of the future with a statesman's eye, and aim at keeping the grand concern in safety, without sacrificing everything to the game of the war-contractor and the accoutrement-maker.

Day by day brings increasing evidence of the efficacy of the Imperial policy. It will let off the imprisoned millions, to an extent which only time will show. It will tap the national barrel, and very likely leave the spigot running. All the wild brains of the country are set furious, on sights, and elevations, and rifled twenty-four pounders which are to demolish Cherbourg from farther than the people there can see who hurts them. And all this is to be done by voluntary subscription; because taking a million out of the pockets of the people in this way is not taking it, but taking it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and letting him spend it on the same things, would. Of course, if the French Government wants another hundred acres of wet dock, this is the way to get it; and so on alternately. It is as when one cock (*rooster* the Americans call it) sets up his well-known clarion, and

another from the other side the ditch answers like a real Bantam as he is, and so the clatter increases on both sides, the geese and turkeys joining from a conviction that something is the matter. Good people must not be angry ; but this is not the way to manage a poultry-yard, nor a country either.

Yours, &c.

18 August, 1858.



SECULAR EDUCATION.—JIDDA.

LXIII.

SINCE the question of Education is one of great interest with your readers, and some of its most zealous and best informed advocates with whom I am pledged to be to the extent of my power a fellow-labourer, are in your locality if not engaged in some of those trips to America and back which Bradford men are in the habit of making with less ceremony than their forefathers went to York, I proceed to notice a subject of surprise and alarm, which like other things of the kind, it is our business to turn to good.

It stands in the public papers, unless I am under some strange mistake, that an authority of some kind or other with whom the power is at present lodged, has refused any assistance to an Association for Secular Education at Manchester, on the ground that no theological doctrines were taught in their establishment.

Assuming this for real, turn it over to the concerned, to sift it and let us all know where we are, and in what manner of relation we stand to those who have the disposal of our money. But do not get angry. Men *will* be foolish ; and we have Apostolic example for "suffering them gladly."

Here are free men, at least men in a country which they are told from time to time is free ; and they have contributed of their substance to a stock for general purposes. Their neighbours form plans for education after their several ideas of what is right, and go to the government which holds the bag, and ask for a portion of the general stock to aid them, and they get it. Whereupon come our friends from Manchester, and expect to get their share. But they are stopped by a Cerberus at the gate. "What do you teach ?" "We teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. We sometimes go a little higher, and meddle with history, ancient and modern. The story

has even run, that we have taught to gauge ; and we could hardly defend ourselves if it were alleged that some among us have had a glimpse of algebra." "But what theology do you teach ?" says the Cerberus. We do not profess to teach theology ; we pay heavily enough for that in other ways, and we do not see why those who are paid for it should not teach it in their own places and let us alone. In the exercise of the senses heaven has given us, we think we see that theology is made a stalking-horse to keep down education, unless so far as some of the clerical order are to make a gain by it. We do not like clerical orders except in their proper places. Our forefathers struggled hard to escape from the tyranny of clerical orders, and we feel their blood working within us. What are the clericals afraid of ? Do they think they have got something contradictory to the Rule of Three ? Or is it the Pence Table they are jealous of, unless they may instil it with a comment ? And then, who is it to be ? At Manchester we have Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Jews, and even some of the Greek church. How are we to do, if all these are to come and insist on each teaching the Pence Table with his comment ? We have not the smallest objection to any of them carrying on any processes he likes, in his own quarter ; but do not come into ours. We shall have a quarrel about the Confessional ; and black-muzzled dignitaries will be examining our boys and girls, to catch the first sparks of sinful phantasy which they can stir. When experience shows there is one subject on which men invariably quarrel, and we desire to teach the subjects on which they invariably agree, we think it hard that we should be deprived of our portion of what we have contributed to. We do not want to use hard words ; but we think it would be knavery. We would not threaten anybody ; but we see the steps by which, if this goes on, they will bring an old house about the ears of those who might as well have lived in snugery.

Their great cause of danger in this direction, is that the means used will in the end keep down no secular knowledge. It was by the application of secular knowledge, that men are where they are, and that every man who can see a state he would consider darkness, is not sitting under its shadow of death at this moment. Teach a boy in church or chapel, and he knows what he goes for, and attends to it accordingly. But mix it up with his Multiplication Table, and he begins to suspect, like the elephant which nobody could induce to take the dose that was intended for him.

I was once carried by one of your Princes of Industry to

see his school ; for which I am sure he asked no public aid, but that is no reason why public aid should not be given to an Association which required it. There was at all events no ostentatious demonstration of religious teaching ; though how far the separation was absolutely carried, is what I cannot say. It is clear, that being himself sole capitalist, he was not under the difficulties which beset an Associated body. But I was curious to observe his processes. On the walls were visible portraiture of almost everything that walks or flies, from the Behemoth that moves in the waters, to the sparrow that is on the house-top ; and to these the infant mind was referred, on the Horatian principle that sight betters hearing. But there were higher grades ; and he asked me to test their progress. A class of small arithmeticians was drawn up in line, and I proposed to them the question in page lxxii of the Preliminary Dissertation to Richardson's Oriental Dictionary. 'Two Arabians sat down to dinner : one had five loaves, the other three. A stranger passing by, desired permission to eat with them, which they agreed to. The stranger dined, laid down eight pieces of money, and departed. The proprietor of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other ; who objected, and insisted for one half. The cause came before Ali, who gave the following judgment :—"Let the owner of the five loaves have seven pieces of money, and the owner of the three loaves, one ; for if we divide the eight loaves by three, they make twenty-four parts ; of which he who laid down five loaves, had fifteen ; whilst he who laid down three, had only nine : as all fared alike, and eight shares was each man's proportion, the stranger ate seven parts of the first man's property, and only one belonging to the other : the money, in justice, must be divided accordingly."

This question was put, of course without the answer. The class seemed posed ; but at last a small voice piped out, "I think I can." And by Yea and Nay, he did it. At a Cambridge examination for degrees, some of the *Senior Optimes* might do it ; but to a certainty not the *Junior*.

Does anybody believe that this knowledge ought to have been stopped, till men could agree whether the Longer or Shorter Catechism should go along with it ? It is evidently a claim which we of the laity are not disposed to consent to ; and least of all, those portions of the Industrious Classes, who have got one eye open already, and mean to get the other.

The "British lion" has lapped a new mess of blood, and of

the kind he particularly affects, which is that of the unresisting. The one thing the wild-beast wants to get rid of, is law. Civilized nations had agreed to join, in taking measures with the Turkish government after the manner of civilized nations. But the wild-beast could not wait for this; an opportunity to disgrace us was too good to be let go. By and by you will be told that Turkey is a government which International Law requires you to pour out your substance to defend. The Manchester "Examiner and Times" of Friday 20 August has taken up the subject so well, that it would be useless to say more.

Yours, &c.

25 August, 1858.

CHINA.—CHERBOURG.—EXPECTED ROYAL VISIT TO LEEDS.

LXIV.

THE news *vis à Russia*, if true, points to the increase of our shames in China. It is astonishing how men pretend to boggle at a falsehood in their individual capacities, and how they harness themselves to any discreditable untruth when they are to do it in society.

Here is the government of a country calling itself civilized, and where there is a great clatter of cold morality and hot theology, sending out orders to their agent (unless he did it of his own head) to get up a totally groundless quarrel with a foreign people, on a pretence ridiculous if true and atrocious if false, and thereupon comes massacre after massacre, the actors all the while professing that they are making war upon nobody, and (as it appears) are starving a capital into submission, being all the time at peace with the sovereign and with the country, and only at issue with some unruly men at arms who oppose themselves to their passage. Surely we are a base race; exception made of those who would prevent it if they could.

Report says the robbers are to net £1,200,000. Out of which, it may be concluded £600,000 will be the share of somebody here, and you and I are to pay it none knows how many times over, as the means of their getting it. Put the case in a private line. Imagine a highwayman, or two highwaymen, coming into the market with a proposal to divide their profits with a Company, with the understanding that such Company is to pay their expenses to half a dozen

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the amount. The case is the same ; and in this manner we are to be squeezed by thieves under grand names, and shall continue to be, till somebody plucks up heart to avow that there is such a thing as national honour as well as individual, and that we will not rear children nor expend labour, to be the playthings of pirates and plunderers of the world.

It may be doubted whether the present government is responsible for this. They certainly did not originate the first felony ; and it was understood that they intended to quash the proceedings thereupon, but were hindered by the French alliance. This comes of bad company.

Comments, some ludicrous and some serious, abound upon the meeting at Cherbourg. Nobody has ventured to think the House of Commons made much of a figure there ; and the wonder with most is, why they went, at all events in a corporate capacity. The consequences on the whole, do not seem to have been good. The speculations proceeding from the visitors on their return, have been peculiarly unhappy. When we must fight, let us fight ; but do not let us have the war of words besides. In the military question which has been diligently raised, I venture to note one hole. When it was asked what 300,000 men were to do against a population of twenty-five millions, it was forgotten to ask what might be the result if thirty millions behind were to take into their heads to back them. We have had fearful evidences how easy it is to set a population mad, on any scheme where blood is to be shed and the wild-beast which exists in the heart of every country gratified. If 300,000 men had opened themselves a way, would not the French people at the invocation of a bishop rush to their churches to beg a blessing on the pillage of London, and their young shop-keepers be bullied by the ardent spirits among their countrymen for not leaving counter and ledger to share the glories and the spoils ? It would instantly be "*la plus juste des causes*," as I remember was in the shop-windows of France when their army did as the Holy Alliance bid them, and restored the Bourbon in Spain. When it is pretended to make out an account, either military or commercial, let it be the whole truth.

The inference from all this, is that wise men would set up some kind of International Law by which the peace might be kept as it is in Civil society, and not amuse themselves by knocking their heads against one another, to see whose is hardest.

Your neighbours at Leeds will be in a state of exaltation at the Royal visit. It is not for me to discourage it, who

come of those who looked upon the reigning family as the pledge of their civil and religious liberty, and called on one another in their dying moments to "fight knee-deep in blood, for God and the House of Hanover." The men are of age, who were unborn when we held up our hands at Hull to commemorate the now reigning sovereign arriving at the years prescribed by law for being capable of succeeding to the throne ; which we did, not without joyous contrast with the perils of our forefathers on the same soil. And truly there was more danger in the wind, than we then thought of. You may not know it, but I do,—that there was at one time a distinct attempt to canvass the army with a view to changing the Succession ; and I could produce the man at this day, who being in the position of what was called an army-broker and having the character of knowing half the officers in the service, was resorted to for information of what regiments could be applied to, with the best chances of success. It looked very much as if we might have had to cut her out from a hostile camp ; which would certainly have been tried, though if we had failed, I suppose we should have been blown from guns, as is the manner of civilized nations. As my contribution at the time, I remember giving notice in the House of Commons on the last day of the parliament which closed in 1837, that if elected to another parliament I would move to bring in a Bill to declare that no foreign prince or potentate ought to have any jurisdiction or succession in this realm, and to vest the succession in the event of the demise of her Majesty, in Prince George of Cambridge and his heirs. I hope there will be no mistake about us Radicals. There is nobody more to depend on, when things come to a pinch. We know what we want, and think we shall get it. But we know that the present machinery is competent to work out the improvements, and therefore we stand by the present machinery. I hope, as mere matter of information, that somebody at Leeds will whisper such a word as the "Ballot."

Yours, &c.

1 September, 1858.



FORGED PROCLAMATION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.—WHICH IS THE FORGERY, THE PROCLAMATION OR THE DENIAL ?

LXV.

WHAT is this story of a forged Proclamation from Calcutta ? We shall be hearing of a forged Act of Parliament next. It is a reasonable object of curiosity, to know all about it. It is perhaps the first instance in the history of mankind, of averment being made that a formal Proclamation had been issued by an established government in a foreign dependency, and sent abroad and acted upon as such, and that this after all had been a trick, a forgery, what is popularly called a *hoax*, and was altogether a thing of fraud.

As said before, it is curious, and we mean to exercise curiosity. How was this Proclamation issued* ; who were the issuers ; through whose hands did it go, or did it move without hands ; who contributed the knowledge of forms and likenesses, which were essential to the deceiving of anybody ? And then, what use was made of it ; was it sent to the disturbed districts, for the chance of what might come of it, and for the chance of what might be made out of declaring it null and void afterwards ? If so, a government that cannot hinder such things, is not fit to be a government. It can answer no purpose but that of making the country ridiculous which is ultimately responsible. Is it all "the British lion" ? It looks very much like the act of a quadruped. We had better take to the woods at once and live on raw mutton, if things of this kind are to go on.

But there is another side of the question. Did the government do it ? There is no desire to suggest criminality against governments ; but there is enough on the face of the case to authorize making the inquiry. If the government did not, it must be as easy to prove it, as that you and I did not set fire to Howth Castle. It is a thing that ought to come out, and be settled one way or other ; and I recommend to the Foreign Affairs Committees to put it on their list, in consideration of the effect it must have in foreign countries.

Since the above was written, the newspapers contain declarations, perhaps forged, that the Proclamation is a forgery. If one thing can be forged, why not another ? And what manner of government is this which in one way or other we shall pay for, whose most solemn acts can be imitated, and the spurious ones put into circulation to operate till found

out? It is as if Bank of England notes could be imitated by anybody who chose to write an I. O. U.

The object of the forgery was manifestly to produce effects on those to whom it purported to be addressed, and then take advantage of the repudiation. It was the crowning move of that mixture of folly and wickedness, which a population of willing dupes have allowed to ride rough-shod over them, for the simple temptation of blood being shed and the brutish instincts gratified. The Native Indian term for the supreme of folly, is "monkey business;" and nothing can be so applicable to the whole plan and performance which is before our eyes. When future generations shall want to point to the extreme of all that is unworthy of human reason, they will show the English people, with the finest foreign empire ever formed, breaking faith with and massacring their Native army, to gratify the bad passions of a few of their meanest and their worst. If the Romans had done it, where would have been the end of outcries against Roman barbarism and fatuity? If Cyrus or Alexander had thought of such a thing, their names would have passed into everlasting contempt, and no book, sacred or profane, would have alluded to them with respect. It was reserved for England, with all the memories attached to her, to sound this base string of humiliation. I wonder where Cyrus and Alexander will be standing to look at us, in the day of judgment.

The defence has now got, to an admission that there *was a mistake*. There was a *mistake* in the matter of the fat the enlisted troopers were ordered to be greased withal. But when 85 honourable soldiers protested against it as what would destroy their character with their countrymen, was it a *mistake* that sentenced them to ten years' labour in irons, and put the irons on, with every circumstance of aggravation and insult? Look at the folly of the people,—their utter incapacity for being trusted with anything in which your interest may be concerned. Would sane men propose one of them for a corporal? They enlist a recruit, and tell him he is to fight for honour and renown; and then they order him to do what he has all his life been taught to believe the most filthy and degrading, and if he remonstrates, he is no soldier, and shall work out his life in irons. It is all part and parcel of the belief that a soldier is a slave; which some of us, standing in the shoes of our forefathers, have the best of good wills to deny. Where was the government, or what was the thing called government, when things of this kind were left to be done at the caprice of men utterly unfit to be the depositaries of a

country's safety ; and why, and on what principle of human and not monkey's reasoning, was the reference to abler heads designedly removed ? It will be said, this cannot be helped now, and what is the use of talking about it. There is this use,—that from day to day the same spirit is at work, and storing up evil against the time, however late, when by the just organization of created things, retribution comes.

Look at all history, ancient and modern. See whether a nation ever set itself up as above all compacts and all bonds, that was not in the end by some of the many moves which are on the chess-board of the world, brought to a bitter reckoning. Executioners could not help them ; the past instruments of crime were only among the dogs that answered to the view-holla that chased them to their end. Truly, of a righteous nation, as of a righteous man,—the end of such a one is peace.

Yours sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath.

8 September, 1858.

NOTES.

LETTER

- II. * A large manufacturing establishment near Bradford, named after the founder and proprietor.
- XIX. * Account by the actor, in *Times*, 28 Sept. 1857, p. 8. col. 5.
- XX. * Account by the actor, in *Times*, 10 Sept. 1857, p. 7. col. 6.
- XXIII. * See XIX*.
- XXV. * *Times*, 24 Nov. 1857, p. 5. col. 5.
 † *Times*, 1 Dec. 1857, p. 7. col. 1.
 28 Jan. 1858, p. 8. col. 4.
- XXX. * *Times*, 29 Oct. 1857, p. 10. col. 2. But there was a letter from the Indian newspapers where the word was more distinctly used. See also *Morning Advertiser*, 1 Jan. 1858, p. 4. col. 6.
 † Indian newspaper.
- XXXI. * Indian newspaper.
- XXXII. * Indian newspaper.
 † *Times*, 22 Sept. 1857, p. 9. col. 2.
 ‡ See XXX†.
 § Indian newspaper.
- ** *Times* of the following dates :
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1857. 4 Aug. p. 7. col. 5.
 6 p. 7. col. 4.
 19 p. 10. col. 3.
 21 p. 7. col. 6.
 25 p. 6. col. 3.
 25 p. 6. col. 4.
 1 Sept. p. 9. col. 1.
 8 p. 7. col. 2.
 8 p. 7. col. 3.
 11 p. 7. col. 5.
 11 p. 10. col. 2.
 21 p. 5. col. 2.
 22 p. 9. col. 4.
 1 Oct. p. 7. col. 5.
 7 p. 10. col. 6.
 16 p. 7. col. 5.
 31 p. 4. col. 4.
 31 p. 7. col. 6.</p> | <p>1857. 18 Nov. p. 9. col. 3.
 19 p. 7. col. 2.
 27 p. 7. col. 1.
 27 p. 7. col. 3.
 1 Dec. p. 7. col. 1.
 3 p. 7. col. 4.
 1858. 7 Jan. p. 7. col. 6.
 9 p. 9. col. 4.
 12 p. 6. col. 6.
 16 p. 9. col. 2.
 30 p. 12. col. 4.
 11 Feb. p. 7. col. 6.
 15 p. 8. col. 1.
 22 Mar. p. 9. col. 5.
 5 April p. 7. col. 1.
 5 p. 3. col. 3.
 8 p. 6. col. 5.
 9 p. 5. col. 5.
 13 p. 10. col. 2.</p> |
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- Morning Advertiser.*
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| <p>1858. 13 Jan. p. 2. col. 2.
 13 p. 2. col. 3.</p> | <p>1858. 13 Jan. p. 3. col. 2.
 20 p. 5. col. 6.</p> |
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LETTER

XXXIII. * Indian newspaper.

XXXVII. * ——"there was a gateway by which we had to leave, that was completely crammed with dead and dying. Here might be seen some Sikhs murdering the wounded men, and then setting fire to them as they lay bleeding. Oh ! mother, sweet, sweet was this revenge ; I gloried in seeing, although my heart turned and made me sick at the time, with the smell of the roasting dead and dying."—*Letter of a bombardier of Artillery to his mother at Oldham.* Dated Cawnpore, December, 1857. In *Oldham Advertiser* of 13 February, 1858.

XXXVIII. * *Times* 20 February, 1858, p. 10, col. 2.

XXXIX. * Indian newspaper.

XL. * *Morning Advertiser*, 8 March, 1858, p. 5. col. 5.

XLI. (Insert * after the last extract from *Speech of Chairman of East India Directors, in the House of Commons, as given in the Times*, 19 March, 1858.)

* Inscriptions at Cawnpore declared "an evident imposition," by Special Correspondent, *Times* 29 March, 1858, p. 9, col. 3.

LVIII. * *Morning Advertiser* 20 July, 1858, p. 5, col. 4. Letter of Special Correspondent, dated Bombay 20 June, 1858. Read to the end of the column.

LXV. * *Times* 3 August, 1858, p. 8. col. 3 ; where it is given as from the *Bombay Gazette*. And the same in *Allen's Indian Mail*, 2 August, 1858, p. 643. col. 3.

It has been commented on, for its able imitation of the style of preceding State papers. This must have been the work of no vulgar felons.

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